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**Retheorizing the Bodies, Habits, and Durations of Temporary Urbanism**

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# Retheorizing the Bodies, Habits, and Durations of Temporary Urbanism

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A dissertation submitted to the University of Bristol in accordance with the requirements for award of the degree of MPhil in the Faculty of Social Sciences and Law, School of Geographical Sciences, June 2019.

**Abstract**

The prominence of temporary urbanism in urban space is growing and requires more variety in how it is assessed in geographical research. This project fills a gap in the existing literature on temporary urbanism by re-theorizing temporary urbanism through a relational perspective, moving away from the Marxist urban theory lineage that informs the majority of current research. This approach, aligned with affirmative critique (McCormack, 2012), emphasises the sensory and affective relations that interact during a temporary urbanism event. Theoretically, I work through three key ontological terrains within this relational approach: bodies, habits, and durations, all of which are informed by Deleuze and one other key thinker: Spinoza, Ravaisson, and Bergson. To put this into practice, I developed my own temporary urbanism events in the form of participatory chalk art drawing events. Chalk's pliability and dispersive nature reveals various sensory relations between human and more-than-human bodies as well as illuminating how temporary events leave traces beyond their intended time or space. Under the headings of bodies, habits, and durations, the chalk art events are analysed through the use of ethnography, writing, and images that are constructed into creative ethnographic vignettes. By engaging with affirmative critique and a relational approach to temporary urbanism, this project contributes another way of theorizing the processes and politics of temporary urbanism.

## Declaration

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the requirements of the University's Regulations and Code of Practice for Research Degree Programmes and that it has not been submitted for any other academic award. Except where indicated by specific reference in the text, the work is the candidate's own work. Work done in collaboration with, or with the assistance of, others, is indicated as such. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

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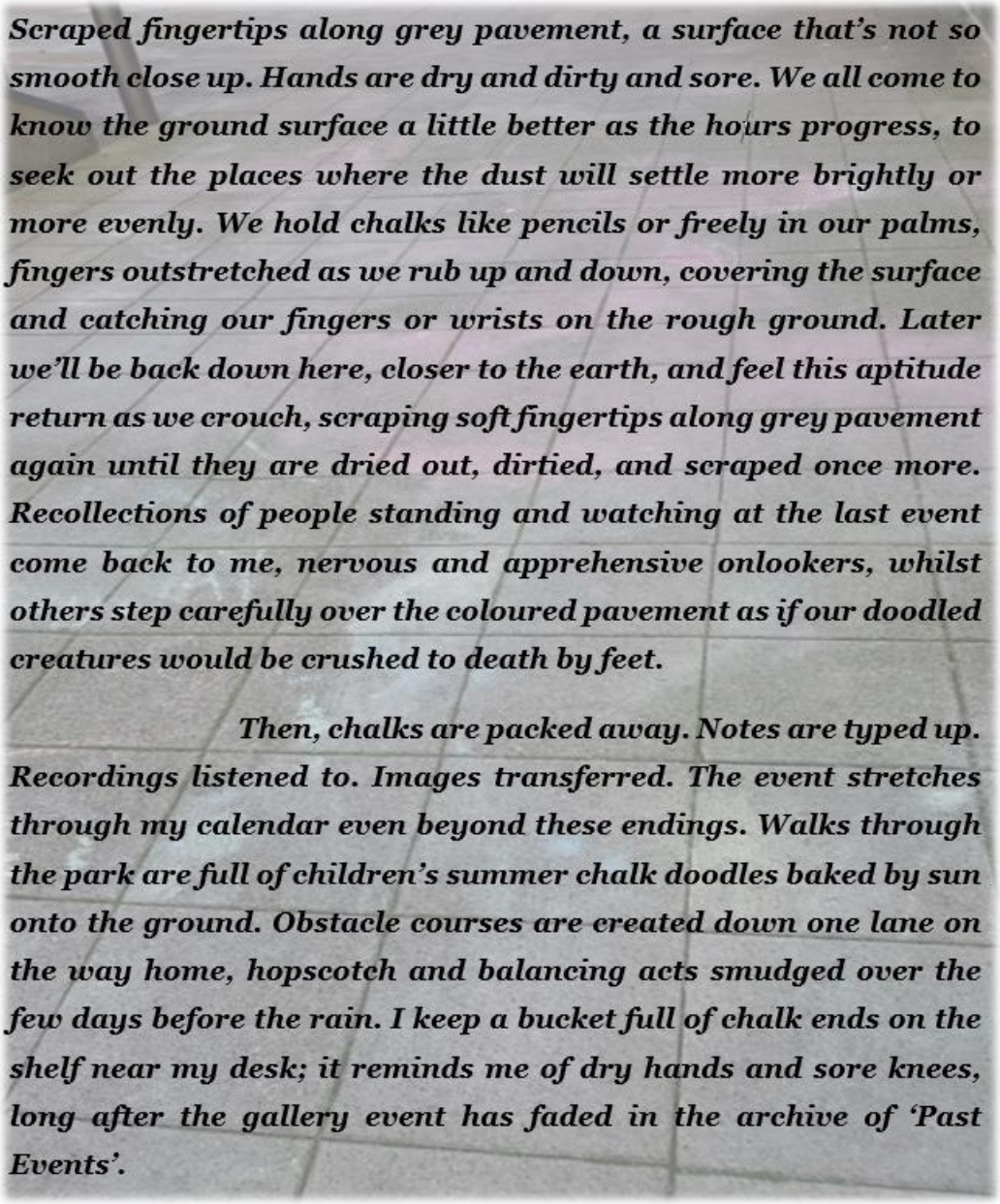
## Introduction




Temporary urbanism is growing in prominence in the urban environment, becoming a dominant logic that governs the use of urban space. The term 'temporary urbanism' refers to a variety of practices and events, including artistic installations, pop-up shops, advertisement campaigns, portable furniture and decorations, markets, unauthorised infrastructure, short-term lets of vacant spaces, and playful interventions in public areas. Often what unites these practices is an intention that they will have short-term effects on a site, whether that be a few hours or many months, and this is considered in opposition to traditional forms of planning and building that aim for more permanence. This project contributes to geographical debates

surrounding the theorization of temporary urbanism by offering a relational perspective that is centred on these events' bodies, habits, and durations. This aims to fill a theoretical gap in the existing literature by emphasising the sensory and affective relations that interact during a temporary urbanism event, and how these extend over time to impact the everyday life of the city, perhaps contrary to their seemingly temporary lifespan. This advances current debates and critiques around temporary urbanism that are informed by critical urban theory and are centred on structures and large scale processes.

There is an urgency in determining how temporary urbanism is theorized because it impacts the design, enactment, and evaluation of these events, which, in turn, impact the everyday life of the city. The politics of temporary urbanism are closely intertwined with contemporary questions related to the use of space in cities, such as how the emergence of pseudo-public space and the privatisation of seemingly public spaces impacts everyday life, how the violence of gentrification and exclusionary practices in cities are enacted through the deployment of temporary urbanism tactics, and what kind of impacts are left by short-term events. Important to further research into temporary urbanism is the space it takes place within. The milieu of temporary urbanism initially appears to be public spaces, open for many kinds of use, yet increasingly these are controlled by private interests. As a recent piece by Guardian Cities notes, the growth of pseudo-public space has an 'insidious' creeping edge to it, regarded as a 'quiet revolution in land ownership' where the rules surrounding acceptable behaviour are unclear or inaccessible (2017: np). That places limitations on temporary urbanism because the logic of what appears to be public space is shifting. This shift means the nature of temporary urbanism is 'subsumed into the wider process of urban capitalism (despite being predicated on a reaction against it)' (Mould, 2014: 532).

Academic debates around temporary urbanism are focused on unravelling associated structural processes, such as the violence of gentrification, and critiquing temporary events' subsumation into the neoliberal logic of the city (Deslandes, 2013; Harris, 2015; Harris and Nowicki, 2015; LaFrambois, 2015; Mould, 2014; 2017; Spataro, 2015). Discourse around the politics of urbanism has argued that temporary urbanism is a weapon in gentrification's arsenal. Various papers have emerged addressing its growth as a capitalist tactic in profit-seeking, a method of filling empty lots in austerity, as well as noting its potential as a community-led way of filling gaps left by traditional urban planning (Bishop and Williams, 2012; Finn, 2014; Harris, 2015; Lashua, 2013; Low and Iveson, 2016; Mould, 2014; Spataro, 2015; Tardiveau and Mallo, 2014*)*. Much is also made of the debates around the definition of temporary urbanism, with phrases such as DIY urbanism, austerity urbanism, and makeshift urbanism often coming into play (LaFrombois, 2015; Iveson, 2013; Mould, 2014; Tonkiss, 2013*)*. This project is less interested in defining the parameters of what counts as temporary

urbanism and more interested in offering another way of theorizing it. This has become an important point in human geography for the past couple of years, with recent sessions at the 2018 AAG annual meeting focusing on the topic of 'Temporary Urbanism: Activation, De-Activation and Adaptability within the Urban Environment'. A paper given in that session by Kraftl and Andres (2018) posits theorizations of temporary urbanism after reviewing the ways it has been critiqued in academic discourse. They emphasise that there are many terms used to 'to discuss the phenomenon of temporary uses of space (tactical urbanism, guerrilla urbanism, temporary urbanism, pop up urbanism or insurgent urbanism)' but that the theoretical grounding of many of these terms is limited, and they suggest that considering the dynamic trajectory of city sites with temporary urbanism in mind could help this (Kraftl and Andres, 2018: 2). These sessions, along with Andres' development of the research network 'Temporary Urbanism Lab', demonstrate the growing attention being paid to this urban phenomenon. Coming up with different ways of theorizing temporary urbanism allows us to be critical of these events in ways that do not rely on standard frameworks of these practices being either outside of capitalism or in service of it. Theoretical attention needs to be paid to the atmospheres, intensities, and micropolitics of temporary urbanism events. As geographers, we need the discourse around temporary urbanism to open up to a more nuanced criticality as these events grow in prominence in urban everyday life, so as not to foreclose their potential.

What this project adds to the current debates is a theorization of temporary urbanism that engages with a relational conceptual framework, as well as an approach that can be characterized as affirmative critique (McCormack, 2012). Affirmative critique aims to 'draw out the affirmative dimensions' of a topic, so as not to dismiss it or get impeded by totally negative critiques (McCormack, 2012: 717). Here, my use of affirmative critique to assess temporary urbanism is not intended to replace the critique of these kinds of events with 'naïve affirmation', because there is a real threat to the everyday urban environment through the neoliberal deployment of temporary urbanism as an exclusionary or controlling practice (McCormack, 2012: 717). Instead, I shift attention to the positive potential of temporary urbanism events when they are rethought through a relational perspective, so as to not 'foreclose possibilities for thinking', enacting, and evaluating temporary urbanism events (McCormack, 2012: 717). What this reveals is that relations between bodies in a temporary urbanism event can be channelled in familiar ways that warrant critique, but that there are also ways temporary urbanism events can shift something positively in urban space, even if for a short time. Too often, these events are dismissed outright without an extensive look at how they function, what they engender in those involved, and what kind of politics they perform. There is a lack of study thinking this functioning through with concepts such as affect and intensity in mind. This is missing from the current discourse around temporary urbanism

in geography and is what I contribute here. As such, the central research questions of this project are as follows. How does affirmative critique shift the theorization of temporary urbanism events? What is revealed through a relational approach to temporary urbanism? How can an attentiveness to micropolitics supplement the macropolitics of these kinds of events? What are the key takeaways from this retheorization for temporary urbanism practitioners?

I begin this project by reviewing geographical approaches to the urban and the impact that conceptual frameworks have on research into temporary urbanism, identifying the approach of *Temporary Urbanism 1* as an umbrella term for the work informed by Marxist urban geography. This framework is prolific in its contributions to the discourse surrounding temporary urbanism. Following this, I construct *Temporary Urbanism 2,* an approach that offers an alternative conceptual framework grounded in affirmative critique (McCormack, 2012). This second framework emphasises the micropolitics of temporary urbanism, noting the role of the singular encounter in contributing to larger structural processes, and arguing that the small interactions between all kinds of urban elements impact how these events unravel. In the second chapter, I work through three key ontological terrains to expand on this framework. These are bodies, habits, and durations, all of which are informed by Deleuze and one other key thinker: Spinoza, Ravaisson, and Bergson. To put this approach into practice, I developed my own temporary urbanism events, which take the form of participatory chalk art drawing events. I chose chalk because it makes visible some of the relations and materialities I wanted to be attuned to, and its pliability and dispersive nature has the potential to illuminate how temporary events leave traces and extend beyond their intended site. This was partly inspired by Yaneva's (2003) work on chalk art in gallery spaces and her attention to how these material bodies contributed to the creative event. Participatory chalk art drawing events allow me to speak more widely to other forms of temporary urbanism events because of their short-lived nature that is inherent in the materiality of chalk. Through the use of ethnography, writing, and images I remain attentive to the conceptual elements of bodies, habits, and durations. In the final three chapters, I analyse my chalk art events, with ethnographic vignettes, under the headings of bodies, habits, and durations. This speaks to the affective and sensory relations between different kinds of bodies and how that affected the emergence of the chalk art events. Throughout, I maintain a sense of continuity between theory and empirics to evaluate how this framework, grounded in affirmative critique, impacts research on temporary urbanism. Key to this project is not just the academic conclusion of how to theorize temporary urbanism in a way that would supplement the current landscape of criticality, but there are also implications for practitioners engaged with temporary urbanism outside of academia.

Overall, my main aim is to combat the foreclosing of the joyful potential of temporary urbanism that has proliferated the academic discourse with standard critiques, whilst ignoring the micro level where these joyful elements might be found. In this project I mean joyful in the Spinozan sense whereby 'the mind affirms of the body, or of some part of it, a greater… force of existing than before' (Spinoza, 1996: 112). By engaging with affirmative critique in this project I aim to supplement criticality by attending to the collaborative, cooperative, and transformative processes of temporary urbanism.

## Chapter 1 – Situating Approaches to Temporary Urbanism

Temporary urbanism is becoming more prevalent in contemporary urban spaces. Along with other forms of related urbanism such as 'DIY' and 'makeshift', Tonkiss describes temporary urbanism as more of a 'mode of urban practice', rather than an entity with strict parameters (2013: 313). At their core, temporary urbanism events can be described as 'unauthorised, grassroots, and citizen-led urban planning interventions that are small scale, functional, temporary, creative and place specific; focused on reclaiming and repurposing urban spaces; and take place outside formal urban planning structures and systems' (LaFrombois, 2015: 1). However, this logic has been incorporated into practices that serve purposes other than reclaiming space, such as attracting tourists or seeking profit, carried out by actors other than those identified in LaFrombois' definition, such as cultural institutions or advertising agencies. I incorporate this into my own working definition, recognizing events such as pop-up stores as well as practices that 'are defined as actions, performances, installations and objects created by artists, and/or activists and sometimes architects, and inserted into, or responsive to, everyday urban environments, usually taking place outside of official art spaces, such as museums and galleries' (Enigbokan, 2015: i). Central to this kind of urbanism is an intentionally temporary logic, but even this is open to evaluation and their seemingly temporary lifespan can be critiqued. Therefore, I have ensured that my working definition acknowledges these critiques and the expansiveness of temporary urbanism as a mode of urban practice. However, I hold onto the above definitions of Tonkiss (2013), LaFrombois (2015), and Enigbokan (2015) as starting points. This opens up the space to research temporary urbanism as something tangible, as searching for an exact definition does not erase their impact on contemporary urban spaces.

Using the same approach as Derickson (2015), who situates contemporary approaches to urban theory as Urbanization 1 and Urbanization 2 (informed by Chakrabarty, 2000), in this chapter I set out two approaches to theorizing temporary urbanism. I follow Derickson's (2015) stylistic lead because it makes clear some of the contrasts between the two approaches. To develop these approaches, a range of theories are drawn on. These are not positioned in opposition to one another, but deviate in their conceptual and political focus when theorizing temporary urbanism. *Temporary Urbanism 1* theorizes these events as part of larger social processes in a world characterised by urban capitalism and follows on from critical urban geographers whose work builds on Marxist theory. Here, in particular, I highlight how Lefebvre's (1968) concept of 'the right to the city' continues to inform critical debates around the macropolitical 'potential' of temporary urbanism, as well as criticisms of this mode of urban practice (Finn, 2014; Harvey, 2008; Iveson, 2013; Marcuse, 2009). Meanwhile, *Temporary Urbanism 2* is a framework drawn together to combine assemblage theory and

relational ontology with processual approaches to the built environment, borrowing from scholars of 'relational architecture' (Jacobs and Merriman, 2011; Kraftl and Adey, 2008). At the core of this project is a relational, processual, and more-than-human theorization of the urban which emphasises affect as a key concept. As such, this framework has a focus on a particular understanding of more-than-human bodies and their contributions, through affective and sensory relations, to urban micropolitics. Within this chapter I argue that the micropolitics of temporary urbanism events need to be attended to and suggest what this might look like later.

Although temporary urbanism has grown in prominence recently, as discussed in the introduction, it has a long history in the city in the form of markets and special events. Bishop and Williams' overview of temporary urbanism, *The Temporary City* (2012), emphasises that although these are not a new phenomenon, there are a number of driving factors that have increased their visibility and frequency over the past decade. These include the 2008 financial crisis and its ripple effects: more vacant property, a cooling off of long-term investments that necessitates short-term lets, as well as the adoption of temporary urbanism as policy to take the place of investment in arts and cultural sectors. This is what Tonkiss (2013) refers to as 'austerity urbanism'. Therefore, this very intentional temporary logic is becoming more of a prominent feature of the contemporary city and thus warrants further research and critique of its political function and impact.

Furthermore, engaging with localized events in the city still remains pertinent to geographical enquiry, despite the expansion of urban capitalist flows beyond the boundaries of the city. This has blurred the traditional definition of what the 'urban' is (Brenner and Schmid, 2014; Madden, 2012; Merrifield, 2011; 2012). Those debates are beyond the scope of this project. Yet, for this analysis it is important to note Davidson and Iveson's defence of the continued analyses of cities, which is that 'the particularities of city life form the context from which planetary urbanization is experienced, understood and potentially transformed' (2015: 662). Thus, paying attention to the local is important for contemporary geography, not necessarily because it 'scales up' to global urban phenomena, but because those particularities are what millions of people interact with on a daily basis. Furthermore, if intentionally temporary urbanism continues to grow as one of the dominant logics of the urban, then the particularities and experiences of lives will change. This summary of how temporary urbanism has been theorized introduces what the terms of critique can be and how continued analysis could proceed. A change in the way temporary urbanism is considered has implications not only for academia but also city residents, urban planners, architects, community action groups, and arts practitioners, as well as the many more-than-human bodies entangled in those practices.

Permanence in the built environment is illusory. Buildings, bodies, and city imaginaries are in constant flux through various processes of aging, decay, and loss, as well as through rejuvenation and reuse. What the two frameworks here share is an understanding of the city as a continually changing entity, rather than something stable or permanent (Bishop and Williams, 2012; Crang, 2001; Davidson and Iveson, 2015; McFarlane, 2011; Merrifield, 2012; Pile, 2005; Thrift and Amin, 2002). Here, however, I am focusing on the intentionally temporary events that can be identified as temporary urbanism. Relevant to this particularity, Harris asserts that the intentionally temporary is a privilege of the global north 'yet pop-ups increasingly take place in the global south where the longstanding prominence of informal temporary urbanisms' requires a different approach and assessment of impact (2015: 601). Immediately, this emerges as part of a larger critique of scholarly attention being paid to intentional temporary urbanism in the global north. As such, I acknowledge the limited scope of the focus of this project and recognize that temporary urban practices are also entangled with marginality and precarity. In this area, Daya and Wilkins (2012) analyse homelessness in South Africa whilst Ursin (2016) explores the temporary urban practices of Brazilian youth populations living in the streets. Temporary practices of finding shelter or creating a space to sleep are relevant in British cities too; rough sleeping numbers have tripled in the past seven years (gov.uk, 2017). Though that is beyond the focus of this work, it is important to recognize that the notion of temporary urbanism often has an affluent, 'creative class' scope which ignores many other temporary urban practices that are done for reasons of necessity and survival. As urban centres continue to expand globally (Madden, 2012; Soja, 2000), intentionally temporary events may become more of a dominant logic throughout cities across the world.

As I show below, there are differences in the two approaches I outline in terms of their conceptual and political focus, as well as their intellectual lineages. What I draw out here is how each framework theorizes temporary urbanism specifically. Currently, there is more writing that analyses this phenomenon using *Temporary Urbanism 1* than there is for *Temporary Urbanism 2*, so I construct the latter by borrowing from similar conceptual lineages in relational architectural theory. Briefly, the essential questions through which I elucidate the differences between these two frameworks can be summarised as follows. Firstly, how temporary urbanism is situated conceptually within the city; secondly, what the positive and negative potentials are perceived as; thirdly, what mode of politics is being asserted by engaging with each theoretical framework.

## Temporary Urbanism 1 Framework

I begin with a framework that inherits critical tools from Marxist urban geography. Attention paid to the city from this perspective emphasises that 'the question of what kind of city we want cannot be divorced from that of what kind of social ties, relationship to nature, lifestyles, technologies and aesthetic values we desire' (Harvey, 2008: 1). I position Lefebvre's concept of 'the right to the city' as integral to the *Temporary Urbanism 1* framework, framing a number of critical urban debates since the mid-twentieth century. Lefebvre's role in Marxist urban geography comes from his work on everyday life and the production of city space (1947; 1974; 1992). Urban geographers have used his concept of 'the right to the city' as a form of commons, which has inspired a great amount of discourse within this discipline debating the usefulness, practicality, and enforceability of the right to the city (Brenner, Marcuse, Mayer, 2011; Harvey, 2008; Marcuse, 2009; Mitchell, 2003). As well as this, it has been incorporated into work on temporary urbanism, sometimes briefly and other times engaged with as a central question (Foster, 2016; Iveson, 2013). Within the context of temporary urbanism, scholars such as Iveson (2013) and Purcell (2013) have turned to Lefebvre's concept to help theorize how temporary urbanism has the potential to enunciate democracy.

Criticisms have emerged to ask what this mid-century concept offers to the contemporary urban condition (for in depth critiques of the relevance of the concept, see Marcuse, 2009; Merrifield, 2011). Today, critical urban geographers who return to the right to the city draw from it a democratic provocation that still holds promise, not a clear blueprint. As Purcell (2002) suggests, the right to the city is one form of theorizing geographical and socio-political *openness* for urban inhabitants and beyond, which has the potential to revitalize urban democracy. This is based on two essential notions which are *participation* (decision making) and *appropriation* (physical access or use). Purcell's reworking of Lefebvre's concept to focus on these two elements of the original essay provides specificity when thinking about how to put the right to the city into practice. He uses it as a provocation for planning, but it remains relevant for temporary urbanism as these two notions can be put to work in order to avoid putting up barriers for involvement in decision making, access, or use.

Participation and appropriation are pertinent to the way that many scholars have studied temporary urbanism and evaluated it based on the inclusion of citizens. Geographers researching temporary urbanism have argued that their potential value lies in the opportunity they offer to citizens to enact a political role outside of standard politics (Finn, 2014; Low and Iveson, 2016; Tonkiss, 2013). The enactment of temporary urbanism is seen as an enunciation of democratic citizenship. It can also be a way of responding to an unmet need that local authorities have failed to provide, which has implications for urban planners (Finn, 2014).

Sawhney et al (2015) put Lefebvre's notion of 'participation' into practice in Moscow, arguing that well-designed urban interventions can become inclusive urban activisms. A combination of online collaboration, workshops, and mailbox use stimulated their planning practice and contributed to their claim that the work was participatory and 'inclusive' (Sawhney et al, 2015: 352). Thus, Purcell's (2002) Lefebvrian 'participation' and 'appropriation' can be leaned upon as evaluation tools for successful urbanisms, with Sawhney et al concluding that temporary urbanism 'must be inclusive to encompass the diverse demographics, motivations and needs of residents, allowing cross-generational engagement, across socioeconomic borders and technology-based access' (2015: 352). Echoing this, the conclusion Gamez and Sorensen (2014) draw for enacting community-based DIY urbanism is the importance of practitioners working *with* citizens so as to avoid reinforcing the dominant planning model. Participation runs clearly throughout these two studies as something that ensures temporary urbanism remains open. Evidently, it is reasonable to assert that the more involvement citizens have in planning and enacting an intentionally temporary event, the more inclusive and democratic it can be.

So, if participation can be worked into DIY urban planning and temporary urbanism, what about Lefebvre's notion of appropriation? There are often debates around temporary urbanism catering to a creative, middle class elite and contributing to gentrification (Deslandes, 2013; Harris, 2015; Harris and Nowicki, 2015; Hatherley, 2013; LaFrambois, 2015; Mould, 2014; 2017; Spataro, 2015; O'Sullivan, F. 2016*)* or masking this process under marketable 'artwashing' campaigns (see Mould, 2017 for a critique of 'culture' contests). This undermines the notion of temporary urbanism existing as an accessible and democratic kind of urban practice, twisting it into something exclusionary or violent. In this DIY form of urban action, Deslandes (2013) argues that although there may be fewer financial barriers to people participating and accessing these kinds of events, there is still an exclusionary aspect in *cultural capital* (Bourdieu, 1985). For her, 'this forecloses the possibility of spatial justice for users of abjected space who do not possess either form of capital' (2013: 223). This relates to Mould's argument that temporary urbanism is wrapped up 'in a narrative that is designed to find new ways of implementing financial investment that has a proven track record of harming local communities' due to its role in gentrification (2017: np). Temporary urbanism events, then, are often reproducing the same consumption habits back at a particular sector of urban citizens, which prevents Lefebvrian appropriation from occurring. What the work under the banner of *Temporary Urbanism 1* fails to theorize is how this exclusion from appropriation *works* during the encounter. In the moment when somebody passes by an event, feeling that is 'not for them', how is that communicated to them and why do they read it as such? Although critical urban geographers drawing from Lefebvre's right to the city are able to explore how this could be put into practice, and what this concept means for the contemporary urban, it

does not delve deep enough into that exclusion beyond the discussion of intertwined socioeconomic networks. Always thinking with this framework places limits on the design, enactment, and evaluation of temporary urbanism by foreclosing how these events are understood. Importantly, my critique does not aim to discount the work being done here. The Lefebvrian notions of participation and appropriation offer ways for urban planners, cultural institutions, and communities working within temporary parameters to re-evaluate how to design and enact engaging and inclusive events. This can prove to be helpful for making improvements in how future interventions proceed.

Through the extensive academic discourse on urban capitalism in critical urban geography, work within *Temporary Urbanism 1* advances useful critiques for thinking about the co-option of these tactics. Mould succinctly summarises this by asserting that acts of temporary urbanism are 'therefore being 'conquered' or subsumed into the wider process of urban capitalism' (2014: 532). This engages with how temporary urbanism emerges with(in) the same capitalist, neoliberal logic even if it is 'hidden' beneath what appears to be something different (LaFrombois, 2015; Mould, 2014; 2017). Furthermore, it remains too simplistic to divide these tactics into the 'good' (community-based, art initiatives, etc.) and the 'bad' (pop-up shops, advertising campaigns, etc.). Although problematic and tangled up in capitalist consumption habits that often exclude, even pop-up shops might have the potential for social connection, a change in the way we relate to the city, and so on, in the same way as the 'good' interventions.

Relating to pop-up urbanism, Harris (2015) argued that the logic of intentional temporariness has spread beyond the pop-up shop or events in public space; cultural industries, governments, and charities have all taken up this logic. She points out that 'pop-up emerges as a mechanism through which to mobilize the turbulence of recession and austerity towards a new normal characterized by profitable flexibility and a related precarity' (2015: 596). Harris' conceptualization of pop-up urbanism builds on a lot of the same literature cited here, using the imaginaries of flexibility, interstitiality, and immersion as ways to think through the pop-up phenomenon. Her paper points to the potential of 'critical and creative temporary uses of space,' whilst acknowledging, Harris continues, how they are 'becoming secondary to, and at times enabling of, processes of commodification, gentrification, precaritization and spatiotemporal control' (2015: 601). The logic of temporary urbanism is tied up with austerity and precarity, which undermines its promise of 'the right to the city'. Critiques such as this demonstrate the power of critical approaches to temporary urbanism in presenting a nuanced understanding of how temporary urbanism works as a kind of 'logic'.

Work such as Harris' (2015) stands apart from one of my main critiques of *Temporary Urbanism 1*. This is the differentiation between temporary urbanism and 'normal' city life, or

what Tonkiss criticises as a 'crack urbanism' narrative (2013). I would argue that Harris' (2015) analysis of the growing pop-up logic is one way for critical urban geography to move forward, as it theorizes these kinds of things not as 'outside of' or 'in opposition to' the norm. This also ignores the long history of the pop-up logic, as evidenced by street hawkers and markets. Instead, this work demonstrates that the logic of the pop-up is developing *within* the city, and critiques temporary urbanism as something inevitably entangled with capitalism. Arguing that temporary urbanism events are 'outside of' capitalism in their truest form but are inevitably subsumed by capitalism fails to provide enough depth or nuance. It also fails to provide any suggestions of how to move forward and work through some of these limits, such as the issues around participation and appropriation.

My position is that critical urban geography offers valuable ways of theorizing temporary urbanism in terms of socioeconomic relations and larger structures entangled in the contemporary city. Recent work thinking about Lefebvre's concept of the right to the city has been taken up by planners in helpful and constructive ways, such as those demonstrated by Sawhney et al (2015). There are many useful insights provided by this perspective looking at the implications for cities and urban inhabitants. My argument is that this framework of theorizing temporary urbanism does not go far enough in considering how this logic works during the encounter and beyond. Critical urban geographers emphasise the relationship between social processes, capitalism, and the urban environment but do not go far enough in considering how this functions in a singular encounter. *Temporary Urbanism 2* offers a relational approach to temporary urbanism. This emphasises the micropolitics of temporary urbanism so as to not 'foreclose possibilities for thinking', enacting, and evaluating temporary urbanism events (McCormack, 2012: 717). Drawing from a variety of disciplines including geography, architecture, and cultural studies, this framework helps retheorize temporary urbanism.

## Temporary Urbanism 2 Framework

The framework I call *Temporary Urbanism 2* draws together a variety of conceptual strands to offer new critical tools for theorizing temporary urbanism. This approach is based in a processual, relational ontology which begins its enquiry with the *relations* between the different kinds of bodies that exist in urban spaces. Similar approaches have been pursued in a variety of disciplines across geography, architecture, and urban planning, and there are glances towards temporary urbanism through a processual or relational lens (Finn, 2014; Johansson and Kociatkiewicz, 2011; Lashua, 2013; Tardiveau and Mallo, 2014). But, a relational approach to temporary urbanism specifically is something lacking from geography, particularly when compared to the amount of scholarship using approaches drawing from the

conceptual lineage of *Temporary Urbanism 1*. My retheorization of temporary urbanism through this second framework can provide nuance and depth by reframing old, as well as adding new, questions that go beyond the parameters set by the framework of *Temporary Urbanism 1*.

Many urban geographers have engaged with the built environment as something processual and mouldable, rather than something fixed (Crang, 2001; Kraftl and Adey, 2008; Merrifield, 2012; Thrift and Amin, 2002). The intellectual lineage of *Temporary Urbanism 2* engages with these and other writers in geography who expand on this processual understanding with the concept of affect. As defined by Spinoza in *Ethics* (1996), affect is a body's capacity to affect and be affected, which can increase or decrease its power to act. It is a force which exists *in between* bodies rather than 'belonging' to them (there is more in-depth explanation of my use of affect in Chapter Two). Here, bodies are being understood as encompassing the more-than-human as well. This acknowledgement of the agency of more-than-human bodies to impact change, situated in the relations between all bodies, makes affect an appropriate concept for thinking about temporary urbanism here. Specifically, for the framework of *Temporary Urbanism 2*, I borrow from Deleuze's interpretation of Spinoza's work that develops affect into a more radical concept of change as well as something that has been mobilized by a number of scholars in geography, characterized as the affective turn (see Deleuze, 1988; 1991; 1994; 2001; Anderson and Harrison, 2010; Berlant, 2011; Dewsbury, 2011; Gregg and Seigworth, 2010; Massumi, 2015; Stewart, 2007; Thrift, 1996; 2004; 2007).

Informing this framework is a more-than-human ontology building on Deleuze's mobilization of affect. This takes into account humans, animals, plants, materials, and the immaterial as *bodies* that have the power to affect and be affected. This follows on more from new materialists such as Bennett (2010) combined with process philosophies than it does more-than-human animal geographers such as Ingold (1988; 2011), Lorimer (2007), and Philo (1995; 2000 with Wilbert). These are not incompatible, and there is a shared motivation to desituate the human as the focus of geographic enquiry as well as to destabilize the divide between nature and culture. This is also influenced by movements in the humanities to attune to different kinds of voices and forms of agency in the environment, with attunement to the more-than-human speaking 'to subtle, affective modulations in the relations between different bodies' (Brigstocke and Noorani, 2016: 2). I include this in the *Temporary Urbanism 2* framework to engage with the power of the built environment and to attune my research to explore how more-than-human bodies change the course of temporary urbanism events. Thus, following Deleuze's interpretation of Spinoza's writings on 'bodies', which extends this beyond the human (2001), the relational element is essential to this framework.

This conceptual genealogy informs a theorization of temporary urbanism in a way that is attentive to the event's micropolitics. To expand upon this, I refer to a key thinker engaging with Deleuze's ideas, with an emphasis on politics and power: Massumi. Engaging with the concept of micropolitics means being attentive to affective and intensive forces of the encounter, which may not be traditionally considered as political. Micropolitics does not refer to a politics that is smaller in scale, but instead to forces that operate on 'the edge of perception's forming' (Massumi, 2017: 64). Massumi states that this 'micropolitics, affective politics, seeks the degrees of openness of any situation' and that all events happen through the relations between bodies, at the edge of what can be perceived (2008: 7).This basis in relations is key to a micropolitical understanding of events, reframing how one can think about the bodies of temporary urbanism. In addition, being attentive to micropolitics also means recognizing the ethical and political power of the precognitive realm. As Massumi argues, for research this means 'returning to the generative moment of experience, at the dawning of an event… reconnecting processually with what's germinal in your living, with the conditions of emergence of the situations you live through' (2015: 79). Thinking about those moments of emergence and germinal change is entangled with the micro scale of this mode of politics. As such, a micropolitical approach to temporary urbanism involves examining the momentary encounter with the event's conditions and considering the affective shifts that can occur through bodies, their habits, across durations. Here, insight can be gained about how to attend to the micropolitical elements of temporary urbanism alongside the macropolitics emphasised by *Temporary Urbanism 1*.

In geography, the notion of buildings possessing agency and communicating different meanings as time progresses is not new; arguably this can also be uncovered in the critical Marxist histories of *Temporary Urbanism 1* (see Bourdieu, 1999). For example, Smith and Hetherington, drawing on Lefebvre's concept of rhythms, argue that 'the urban everyday is made, re-made and may, potentially, be transformed and transformative' (2013: 5). Using a relational and affective imaginary to engage with this understanding of the city requires attuning to the micropolitics of everyday urban life in order to explore how this transformation happens. This kind of attention is evident in relational architecture. Within this field, Jacobs and Merriman's (2011) concept of *practising architecture* attempts to animate the built environment, building on the contributions of early millennium works such as Lees (2001), Pallasmaa (2005) and Gieryn (2002). Other developments from this can be found in work on buildings that remains attentive to the affective and sensory interactions between humans and non-humans, emphasising how these result in changing modes of behaviour, social interaction, and knowledge (see Adey (2008) on airports, Bonnin and Goudey (2012) on shopping centres, Merriman (2007) on motorway service stations). In addition, a similar concept of *inhabitation* of architecture emphasises the active role of many different kinds of

bodies in how we understand buildings and what constitutes architecture. As such, different styles or elements of architecture can 'simultaneously delimit, design(ate), and demarcate strict performative and often moral possibilities' in various bodies participating in the building (Kraftl and Adey, 2008: 226). I return to Jacobs and Merriman's term of practising architecture specifically as it offers a form of critique which is helpful for researching temporary urbanism. This is notably because practising architecture has many practitioners involved: architects, builders, cleaners, vandals, as well as non-humans such as pets, birds, bugs, mould, and other forces such as weathering, joining, sealing, and beyond. This is an example of the more-than-human elements of this framework, which engages with the agency of various types of bodies enacting temporary urbanism.

Looking at the urban environment like this attempts to *animate architecture* to see it as 'an on-going process of holding together and, inevitably or even co-incidentally, not holding together' (Jacobs and Merriman, 2008: 212). This assertion has an element of radical potential and helps solidify a vision of the urban that is volatile and changeable. Since Jacobs and Merriman's (2008) work, the concept of practising architecture has been picked up by a number of scholars as a critical tool for analysing specific kinds of buildings and the practices around them (DeKeyser, 2018 on outdoor advertising; Kraftl, 2014 on sustainable communities; Mould, 2016 on brutalist architecture; Pickerill, 2017 on eco-homes). These currents in architecture, along with the concepts of practising architecture and 'inhabitation' specifically, offer a great deal to theorizing temporary urbanism. In particular, there is a widening of who the 'actors' are by acknowledging the role of other bodies in the process of architecture. Also emphasised are the practices and processes that situate action as '*right here* coordinated (although not always rational) agreements and arrangements based in contingently formed skills and interpretations', rather than as an outcome of structures or global systems that seem out of reach (Jacobs and Merriman, 2008: 212). This also speaks to the various temporalities that affecting bodies exist through. Historical geographers engaging with affect envision 'the city as an intense site for the spectral gathering of affects' (Pile, 2005: 243). In this way, the affective histories of the city are interwoven in its materialities. Brigstocke notes that 'cities are haunted by past events that reverberate through places long after they have occurred'; this reverberation can be conceptualized as an affective power that continues to impact the city (2016: 92). As such, these currents in architecture and geography demonstrate how the contemporary urban environment is constituted through the affective power of bodies, which continue to exist and enact power long after an event's apparent end.

This approach can also extend to temporary art practices. Yaneva, an art historian and architectural practitioner, details a recreation of *The Beekeepers* in chalk on a gallery floor (2003; my own research builds on this, using participatory chalk art events). Yaneva shares

with the relational architectural approach an understanding of the variety of actors and bodies involved in this reproduction, emphasising the many bodies that enact their own kind of agency within a given space. She argues that the art installation is 'about the intensity with which different associations between humans and non-humans are shaped over the artistic process' (Yaneva, 2003: 172). What is also important about her approach is a recognition of these bodies as different kinds of actors involved in the planning of the event: the forms to be filled in, the gallery manager's worry, or drops of paint marking the floor. These all play a role in the emergence of the art. A similar approach can also be found in Hillier's (2011) analysis of public art piece 'Another Place', wherein the various interacting narratives during planning are bodies themselves which affect and can be affected. These examples show that a more-than-human and relational understanding of buildings, events, and art go beyond the structures and networks of *Temporary Urbanism 1*. It is more of a concurrent bubbling up and simmering out of different events; a constellation of entanglements of bodies and relations that is not un-researchable, but requires a shift in methodological approach.

Another important element of this framework is avoiding the separation of temporary urbanism from the 'normal' of the urban. Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos asserts that 'there is no better place outside. There is no better law, better city, better justice. It is all part of an infinite plane of immanence' (in Brighenti, 2013: 100). In this way, the urban is seen as a porous and permeable layer rather than something with 'gaps' to be filled by temporary urbanism. The interstice, the gap, the crack (see Holloway, 2010) are all helpful to an extent when thinking about the spatial configuration of capitalism, but how this is framed is significant. Disruption or transformation occurs throughout the capitalist milieu at the micro level, rather than in tangible and perceptible gaps or cracks in the system. Theorizing temporary urbanism events as alternatives to the norm only 'constitutes them as bounded entities that can only be positioned alongside, or in opposition to', rather than always within what is already here (Daskalaki and Mould, 2013: 1). I distance myself from the 'outside of the normal' understandings of temporary urbanism because I assert that everything within the urban is immanent.

Engaging with the micropolitics of the urban means recognizing the importance of elements that may not seem inherently political, such as the whimsical and playful aspects of some encounters. Focusing on yarn bombing, Mann (2015) argues that playful and fanciful elements of urban interventions have micropolitical power as they can interrupt habitual relations with the city and change the course of events, despite their fleeting and seemingly frivolous nature. In my own temporary urban event, I use chalk art drawing on the pavement. This has relevance to bodies, habits, and durations as outlined in the introduction because of its materiality and tendency to disperse in relation to other bodies, and it also links to debates

around play in contemporary cities (e.g. sessions at the 2018 RGS-IBG on participating in the city as playground, organised by Dickens and Woodyer). Drawing with chalk is a medium and activity closely associated with children's play and is a fleeting mode of urban practice that may seem frivolous. Therefore, engaging with the practice of pavement chalk art in these events means recognising the importance of ludic and children's geographies in wider geographical discussions. Using a similar approach to Mann (2015) as well as engaging with ludic and children's geographies, I emphasise the micropolitical power in the playful elements of this temporary urban practice. The field of children's geographies in human geography is vast, paying attention to the spaces and processes around children (Aitken, 2001; Hall and Jefferson, 1976; Holloway, 2014; Holloway and Valentine, 2000; Valentine, 1996). This project is not directly engaging with children's geographies, but it does emphasise the political force of an encounter containing something childish, playful, or whimsical. The playful element can cause a rupture in our habitual modes of relating to and acting in the city.

What a ludic approach to the urban demonstrates is that play exists everywhere: not only contained within spaces and times designated for play. Woodyer argues that 'when playing one adopts an openness to the world in the moment' that, from my perspective, demonstrates the joyful potential that playful activities can bring to bodies in terms of relating to other bodies as well as the built environment (2012: 320). Woodyer's discussion of ludic geographies emphasises that play 'exploits the openness and circumstance of the everyday' (2012: 320). It can happen in any space or place and at any time. This account of play recognizes its emergent and potentially explosive qualities, making playful practices such as chalk art 'an area ripe for rupture, sparks of insight and moments of invention' (Woodyer, 2012: 322). Examining how these sparks and moments occur in these chalk art events requires a creative approach which goes beyond traditional scholarly study and writing. In taking the micropolitics of playful and whimsical events seriously, I suggest that using the concept of enchantment offers a way to think through these encounters with a thorough affective approach that recognizes the power of material involved in these urban encounters. Bennett's (2001) concept of enchantment refers to an open orientation towards the world which reveals the possibility to be immobilized by wonder, transported elsewhere, and to be resituated in one's affective relations to the world. It is an affective *orientation* that emphasises the power of more-than-human bodies. It is 'through the embodied experience of enchantment, we can experiment with techniques and sensibilities that may cultivate turning points' (Woodyer and Geoghegan, 2012: 15). With the affective orientation of enchantment in mind, the contemporary urban environment contains the potential for playful and enchanting encounters.

What I have outlined in this chapter are two theoretical frameworks that can situate research into temporary urbanism and frame the questions being explored. The first, *Temporary Urbanism 1,* encompasses many approaches based in critical urban geography**.** This emphasises political structures, patterns, and economic processes, situating temporary urbanism as either an enunciation of urban democracy or, more likely, as part of the gentrifying genre in the contemporary neoliberal city. Using ideas informed by process philosophies, relational architecture, and more-than-human geography, I have constructed another framework through which to theorize temporary urbanism called *Temporary Urbanism 2*. Currently, a reliance on the former framework has resulted in many structural critiques of temporary urbanism that dominate the discourse without questioning how this framing might be limited in its critique. This forecloses the possibilities of other ways to think about this urban phenomenon. Borrowing from the literature outlined here that I used to construct the second framework, in the next chapter I build the *Temporary Urbanism 2* framework to address three ontological terrains that are central to my retheorization of temporary urbanism: bodies, habits, and durations. This exploration discusses the implications of this framework's application to temporary urbanism after a more thorough investigation of theorizations surrounding these ontological terrains.

## Chapter 2 – The Elements of Retheorizing Temporary Urbanism

Retheorizing temporary urbanism by using a relational approach can open up alternative ways of understanding these events. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, the conceptual lineage of how temporary urbanism is researched has often relied upon the parameters and debates of critical urban geography, but I have begun to outline a relational approach that offers another way of conceptualizing how temporary urbanism events function through concepts such as affect and intensity. To further elaborate on this approach, here I review three key conceptual terrains to demonstrate what they can offer to rethinking temporary urbanism. These are bodies, habits, and durations. My theoretical approach for working through these terrains draws from Gilles Deleuze, some of his influences, and those who have engaged with his philosophical project. Deleuze draws out difference and excess; he provides the theoretical ground for rethinking the imperceptible and the processual, which makes him an apt choice for expanding this framework. His philosophical project introduces an element of instability and change to the urban environment, which offers up something useful for temporary urbanism, not only in the way it may disrupt well-rehearsed flows but also in revealing how it encourages and enacts those same flows it may appear to interrupt. Thinking temporary urbanism differently means it can be assessed, enacted, and encountered differently.

An entirely Deleuzean perspective on urban space and full engagement with his philosophical project is beyond, and besides, this project's ambitions. Instead, I engage with a few key ideas, tracing influences on Deleuze, and noting his impact on theoretical perspectives in geography and related fields today. This is grounded in the understanding of Deleuze as a theorist who centres relations throughout his work, thus his philosophy lends itself to a relational approach to theorizing temporary urbanism. In the chapter that follows, I progress through these questions in three parts, all interrelated but important to address separately: *bodies*, informed by Deleuze-Spinoza; *habits*, informed by Deleuze-Ravaisson; and *durations*, informed by Deleuze-Bergson. There are important connections between these three theorists as well as with Deleuze, who is the figure I find their philosophy through. Deleuze wrote specifically on the work of both Spinoza (2001) and Bergson (1988), excavating and expanding upon what resonated with his own excessive and processual metaphysical project. Spinoza's concept of affect, as explored in *Ethics* (1996), was taken up by Deleuze to ground the understanding of bodies always in relation; this is at the core of my understanding of bodies here. This utilization of Spinoza's affect, as developed by Deleuze, has been incorporated into a variety of geographical contexts including the affective turn and non-representational geography (Anderson and Harrison, 2010; Berlant, 2011; Dewsbury, 2011; Gregg and Seigworth, 2010; Massumi, 2015; Stewart, 2007; Thrift, 1996; 2004; 2007). Within temporary urbanism research, affect has been gestured towards (Tardiveau and Mallo, 2014) but this

project aims to fill a gap in the discourse that grounds this work fully in Deleuze's development of Spinoza.

Ravaisson, although lacking an exploratory book by Deleuze, can be found as an influence in *Empiricism and Subjectivity* (1991) and *Difference and Repetition* (1994). In geography, over the past decade there has been growing engagement with Ravaisson's dynamic definition of habit since the translation of his thesis, *Of Habit* (2008), into English. This has had an influence on many geographers working with Deleuze and Spinoza's concept of affect (Bissell, 2011; 2015; Carlisle, 2006; Dewsbury, 2011; 2015; Grosz, 2013; Hynes and Sharpe, 2015; Lapworth, 2015; Paterson, 2013; Sinclair, 2011). It is not just this contemporary resonance that unites the two thinkers, but a sense of bodies-in-relation and change resulting from that. The work of the geographers mentioned above covers a number of topics such as exploring the relations between landscape and performative materialities (Dewsbury, 2015), how habit impacts the construction and stylisation of subjectivity (Lapworth, 2015; Hynes and Sharpe, 2015), how sensation contributes to a sense of inhabitation (Paterson, 2013), as well as how it acts as an infrastructure for the lived experience of place (Bissell, 2015). This demonstrates that Ravaisson's theorization of habit specifically has the potential to be vital for my relational retheorization of temporary urbanism. It lends a conceptual language to discuss how the back-and-forth constitution of bodies in relation. Furthermore, the key text *Of Habit* allows me to engage closely with the primary thought of Ravaisson and provide a close reading and application of these concepts, as initially found through Deleuze, to temporary urbanism.

Bergson, who was a student of Ravaisson, directly built upon his work to emphasise that lived time and quantifiable time were two separate understandings of duration; the former unable to be measured by clocks. Habit and durations are closely intertwined, durations being the capsule that holds Ravaisson's dynamic theorization of habit as well as Deleuze's emphasis on a world that is always becoming. Deleuze's *Bergsonism* (1988) is the route through which I find Bergson's concepts, in particular the actual and the virtual. These impact my analysis of the durations of temporary urbanism to critically evaluate the 'temporary' of temporary urbanism. There are key questions used in the following sections that help elucidate this framework: how does Deleuze define bodies / habits / durations? How does this provide new modes of theorizing space? How do these terrains intersect and overlap? In each section, I conclude by gesturing towards ways that understandings of specific temporary urbanism events can be shifted by engaging with these key conceptual terrains.

## Bodies

What is a body? This has been a central question for geographical inquiry in the past few decades, and has been explored from a variety of different theoretical perspectives (see Longhurst, 1995 for an overview of the questions pertinent to the body in geography). One

understanding emphasises the body as a site entangled with space, the two of which constitute each other back and forth, rather than the human body acting as an active subject within a passive world of objects. As such, the body is the instrument through which encounters with the world happen. It is physical material – flesh, bone, organs – as well as immaterial, possessing social and pre-social elements, which impacts its relations with the world. This is influenced by an approach that seeks to 'expand the realm of what the (experiential) human is, and expand the realm of what counts as the empirical field' (Lea, 2009: 374). This goes beyond phenomenological approaches that centralize the subject. The key concepts I draw out to inform my definition of the body are affect and affective relations (informed by Spinoza (1996), enhanced by Deleuze's concepts of longitude and latitude), capacities, and assemblage. This extends beyond human, and even thinking, bodies.

Here, the concept of affect lends itself to uniting these elements. Spinoza's influential assertion that 'any mode in which the human body is affected by external bodies, must involve the nature of the human body and at the same time the nature of the external body' (1996: 44) has been taken up as an important concept for geographical inquiry. Possessing the capacity to affect opens a body up to be affected; what is emphasised by Spinoza (1996) is that it is a reciprocal force. This situates all bodies as defined by their relations first and foremost and affect is 'behind all forms of social production in the contemporary world, and these affective forces' ethical, ontological, cognitive, and physiological powers' (Colman in Parr, 2005: 12). I draw out three main implications of affect for this project. Firstly, affect provokes us to think beyond the human and consider the affective power of all kinds of bodies. Affect is a force that 'plays by the same rules' through and between all bodies, as 'Nature is always the same… [within] which all things happen, and change from one form to another, are always and everywhere the same' (Spinoza, 1996: 69). Secondly, it separates out the ongoing process of individuation through affective relations, conceptualizing the body as a site of continual becoming, rather than something with a fixed identity. Spinoza emphasises that bodies continually change because of interactions with other bodies. Thirdly, this approach emphasises the relations between bodies and the 'outside world', critiquing notions of transcendental essence and interiority. The body and mind are entangled, and yet there is something unknowable about affect as a corporeal force, as the 'mind does not know the human body itself' (Spinoza, 1996: 47). As such, this redistributes agency to all bodies that build or shed various capacities in how they affect and are affected. This recognizes differences between bodies whilst acknowledging that everything is entangled in a constellation of affective forces.

Deleuze builds on the Spinozan understanding of the body in a number of ways, developing affect into an ontological force which characterizes the world. There are Deleuzean

concepts that contribute to understanding this process of a body's mutual constitution with space, most significantly for my project are latitude and longitude. Deleuze's definition of a body is partly constituted by longitude: 'the relations of motion and rest, of speeds and slownesses between particles, that define a body' (Deleuze, 2001: 123). Deleuze also notes latitude: 'this capacity for affecting and being affected that also defines a body in its individuality' (Deleuze, 2001: 123). This recognizes that the body is made up of many bodies, but more importantly, those relations between them and the processes inherent. As such, it is defined by the relations *within* as well as its capacity to relate *outward* to others. What this does for a definition of a body is to emphasise the processes and flows which characterizes bodies as always becoming.

Changes in bodies always result from affective encounters, though these developments are not always fully registered. Only some affective encounters are translated into felt sensation. As such, sensory relations are also key to this understanding of bodies, and Massumi argues that 'sensation is the registering of affect' (2002: 8). But not all sensation is noticed: bodies can become habituated to certain smells, sounds, or haptic sensations and these fade into the background of consciousness. Nevertheless, the senses act as 'both… a relationship to the world and… a kind of structuring of space and defining of place' (Rodaway, 1994: 4). This approach to sensation, as knowledge-making and affect-translating, but also as something not entirely knowable, means recognizing bodies as corporeal vessels with precognitive and unconscious elements that influence change without conscious thought. Therefore, recognizing the importance of sensation in temporary urbanism events is essential to understanding how they might impact the urban environment. This is one of my contributions to the current literature: temporary urbanism events are multisensory, shifting not only what a space looks like but also how it sounds, smells, or feels.

To build upon the dynamism of this definition and provide more specificity for discussing the relations between bodies in urban spaces, I turn to the concept of capacities. This links to affect's (and sensation's) implication for thinking bodies: that the body is conceived of as a site of continual becoming through its relation with the outside. Capacities are the various ways bodies can act. This concept contains hints of force or power, but refers more to realizing the potentiality of a body, which is not predetermined. Capacities also refers to the various ways that a body can be attuned to particular intensities around it. Expanding on Deleuze's exploration of capacities in his work on Spinoza (2001), Massumi argues that 'a body is defined by what capacities it carries from step to step. What these are exactly is changing constantly' (2015: 4). This brings to the fore the processual nature of capacities, emphasising the vitality and dynamism of this definition. The crucial part of being attentive to capacities here specifically regards how bodies' capacities can be augmented and

diminished through various encounters and entanglements with the affective assemblages of temporary urbanism.

Spinoza argues that 'different bodies may be moved differently by one and the same body', emphasising the various ways that bodies can attune to the affective power of others (1996: 42). Massumi builds upon this Spinozan notion of the capacity to affect and be affected, developing it into something more defined in particular ways of affecting and being affected. Defining bodies with a focus on capacities emphasises certain factors which change the angle of enquiry around encounters with temporary urbanism. Firstly, it emphasises transition and movement rather than relying on a static understanding of the body, even under the umbrella of conceptualizing a body as something which can affect and be affected. It changes the definition of the body from something with a particular identity or a particular set of abilities to something always in flux, which maintains a sense of openness. Secondly, using the concept of capacities alters the evaluation of temporary urbanism; the dualism of success vs. failure is replaced with incremental affirmative and detrimental changes to the capacities of bodies involved.

An understanding of the body that emphasises movement and transition through capacitation means greater attention is paid to how this dynamism is channelled in particular directions. Understanding bodies as dynamic and continually going through a process of capacitation applies to material bodies as well lively ones. With this in mind, the affective and sensory encounters that bolster or chip away at bodies' capacities are recognized as vital for the process of becoming. As such, bodies are no longer defined completely by their identities. Social elements of research into temporary urbanism, for example, can be worked through in alternative ways when emphasising capacities like this; across identities capacities are shared and, as such, new empathetic or communal relations can be forged. This can be applied to Tardiveau and Mallo's research (2014) who hosted temporary events on a shared green space outside three tower blocks in Gateshead. Although they emphasise the positive socio-spatial implications of these events, what I draw out from this work and the 'sense of community' they discuss are the increased capacities of those involved to feel at home in those residences. The plant life's capacities for growth also increased due to a heightened attention paid by human bodies tending the shared gardens. Considering the incremental increases or decreases of a body's power of acting through capacitation changes the evaluative process of how to understand the impact of an event or encounter. In the discussion around temporary urbanism, there are often critiques based on exclusion vs. inclusion, success vs. failure, and other dualisms. What I offer here is another way to think about the changes that emerge through these events, one that challenges the dualisms of success vs. failure by focusing on the small shifts in bodies, via the concept of capacities.

Underlining the dynamism of bodies in relation to each other opens up a space for affirmative critique of these events.

Using assemblage thinking to work through the relations between bodies also retains an attentiveness to the connections and interplay between a myriad of bodies. In space, considering the insurmountable affective relations between so many bodies can be tricky, and using words such as network or web is not particularly helpful because it tries to pin things down into something quantifiable, a true representation of reality, whereas life is full of much more than these mappable elements. Laurier and Philo emphasise that 'there are things that we (humans) can feel, sense and express which are unspeakable, unsayable and unwriteable. Dance, tears, shock, touch, faces, gestures and more that are indeed aporias, puzzling and yet fundamental to life' (2006: 2). Here, I emphasise the concept of the assemblage as a way to think about the relations between bodies. This concept allows discussion of unpredictable and myriad relations as a collective whilst recognising its imperceptibility through mapping attempts. It also allows me to recognize the extensive constellation of material and immaterial bodies spanning temporal scales which remain affectively impactful. My own fieldwork analysis attends to these collaborative, cooperative, and disruptive processes that are key to assemblage thinking.

There are varied traditions of assemblage thought, and though they can be placed in opposition to one another I draw inspiration from two kinds of assemblage. Assemblage thinking helps the discussion around affective relations within a given site or space. Firstly, the concept of actor network theory influenced by Latour (2005) focuses on the relations between bodies, offering a material and semiotic understanding of how the social happens. Secondly, Deleuze and Guattari's assemblage (*agencement)* emerges in *A Thousand Plateaus* (1987) and evokes a constellations metaphor to discuss the arrangements of, and connections between, bodies. This pushes the approach of actor network theory by moving away from this network or web representation. Instead, they 'call assemblage every constellation of singularities and traits deducted from the flow – selected, organized, stratified – in such a way as to converge (consistency) artificially and naturally' (1987: 1226). Deleuze and Guattari's assemblage attends to the agency of bodies, not just in spatial relation but across temporalities, with various lines of connection. McFarlane's (2011) paper on what assemblage thinking offers to critical urbanism emphasises the potential that assemblage thinking asserts through actual and virtual aspects, a rethinking of agency of bodies, and the imaginary offered:

> 'In approaching agency as an emergent process that is distributed across the social and the material, assemblage thinking requires careful consideration of how different materials might matter within assemblages for how we conduct urban critique,

whether those materials be glossy policy documents, housing and infrastructure materials, placards, banners and picket lines, new and old technologies, software codes, credit instruments, money, commodities, or of course the material conditions of urban poverty, dispossession and inequality' (McFarlane, 2011, 215).

Here, bodies not traditionally thought of as lively, such as documents and placards, enact their own form of agency in the emergence of urban events. This relates closely to vitalist and new materialist thought which asks how responses to research questions would change if we were 'to take seriously the vitality of (nonhuman) bodies' (Bennett, 2010: viii). This approach can be incorporated into temporary urbanism research, as it has been for other topics in geography such as entanglements with technology and data in space (Marres, 2016; Bergmann, 2016), landscape and archaeology (Tolia Kelly, 2010), and the ethics of living in the Anthropocene (Gibson-Graham, 2011). This expanded definition of a body also means taking into consideration what Deleuze (2001) denotes as the longitude of the body: relations *within* the body. These relations might be between a living body's organs, a pavement's materials, chalk's pigments, or airborne miniscule bodies that contribute to the site's atmosphere. All of these bodies and their relations are encompassed in the assemblage. However, recognizing the agency of the *whole* is important too. The pavement is not just separate pieces of gravel linked by longitudinal relations, but has agency and possesses particular capacities as this whole.

Paying attention to materials and matter as bodies in urban space has a number of impacts. It redistributes agency, rethinks change and stasis, makes the world livelier in our writing, undermines human exceptionalism and emphasises how the built environment impacts the emergence of the new in vivid and powerful ways. This is closely linked to all of the implications of using affect which is that we are pushed to think beyond the human, consider all bodies as ongoing sites of becoming, and emphasises the relations between bodies rather than privileging interiority and essence. It elevates the built environment to more than just a site of the event; in this theorization it is actively participating. It also changes how we consider temporary urbanism's affective impact in terms of affecting the bodies that exist in urban space beyond the human. Thus, my approach to theorizing bodies is informed by new materialist thought in geography, as agency within a temporary urbanism event must be extended out to include all the different kinds of bodies participating. This matters to this project because it expands the notion of who or what is acting within the event and takes seriously the agency of all kinds of bodies.

Next, I move on to the discussion of habits through Ravaisson-Deleuze. Habits are inherently bodily, and in the next section I go into more detail about habits as an ontological terrain; it is an intermediary between bodies and spatio-temporal scales.

## Habits

How we define habit impacts how we theorize our relation to the world, as well as how change happens and what characterizes it. Ravaisson's (2008) *Of Habit* details the functioning of habit and describes it as a way of being that underlies living; this has influenced many geographers and theorists constructing a more dynamic definition of habit (Bissell, 2011; Carlisle, 2006; Deleuze, 1991; 1994; Dewsbury, 2011; 2015; Grosz, 2013; Lapworth, 2015; Sinclair, 2011). This comes down to thinking habit as 'the synthesis of repeated elements' within a body, relating to both movement ('action') and sensation ('passion') (Malabou and Sinclair in Ravaisson, 2008: 79). Ravaisson's definition goes beyond the idea of habit as instinct or automaton-like behaviour that holds us back by characterizing it as a force associated with change, potentiality, and creativity. Such a dynamic retheorization of habit as a powerful force of change (even at an imperceptible scale that might be perceived as stasis) is used by Deleuze, contributing to his characterization of the world as difference in itself. This understanding of habit underlying living also influenced his early work on redefining subjectivity as 'the habit of saying 'I'' (Deleuze, 1991: x). Below, I move through the key points of this definition and what its impacts are for geography, before detailing the effect of this theorization on researching urban space and temporary urbanism specifically. This is particularly important for my project because it emphasises the interconnection and function of bodies, norms, stasis, and change, and other aspects which entangle bodies' habits with capitalist urban processes.

Ravaisson's text describes the metaphysics of habit and its role in various bodies' functioning in the world. He argues that habit underlies all other life functions, which can range from chemical reactions to muscle movements to cognitive processes. As such, Ravaisson's definition of habit emphasises its bodily nature as a force which 'transforms voluntary movements into instinctive movements' (Ravaisson, 2008: 59). This moves away from the notion of habits being moral 'possessions' or something transcendentally gifted. If one understands habit as inherently bodily, it becomes fully associated with the potentiality of a body and the ways bodies can transform, which is where I draw the link between this and the concept of capacities. This notion of bodily habit is explained as follows:

> 'The continuity or the repetition of passion weakens it; the continuity or repetition of action exalts and strengthens it. Prolonged or repeated sensation diminishes gradually and eventually fades away. Prolonged or repeated movement becomes gradually easier, quicker and more assured. Perception, which is linked to movement, similarly becomes clearer, swifter, and more certain' (Ravaisson, 2008: 49)

Therefore, the same ontological principle is applied to both action and passion. This bodily grounding of habit as something amassed over time as proficiency or familiarity is built upon

by Deleuze's work. What I draw out as resonating from *Of Habit* for Deleuze is a sense of dynamism and continuous change, grounded in discrete bodily action as described above. This is a central idea in Deleuze's philosophical system. *Difference and Repetition* (1994) details this clearly; difference in itself characterises the world yet nothing truly repeats. Deleuze notes that 'repetition can always be 'represented' as extreme resemblance or perfect equivalence, but the fact that one can pass by degrees from one thing to another does not prevent their being different in kind' (1994: 2). Underneath the associations which, from a subjective point of view, we may perceive as different or the same because of resemblance, opposition, equivalence, or variation, there is only difference. As such, habits are not indistinguishable repetitive actions or identical sensations, but always remain as discrete singularities even when passion or action are repeated. Even if habits contribute to a feeling of ease or dulled sensation in a body they remain unique in their actuality. As such, they are open to both gradual changes and sudden interruptions.

What Bissell (2011) and Lapworth (2015) push is the notion that it is not always through gradual repetitive passion or action that a habit shifts in a different direction, as this can also occur through more sudden change that can be characterized as something explosive or akin to shock. This introduces a notion of volatility within this theorization of habit. Lapworth's work on the encounter with bioart reemphasies this volatility that entering into affective relations can result in, 'operating as a rupture in our habitual modes of being and thus in our habitual subjectivities, forcing us to think differently' (2015: 91). This introduces a different element to theorizing change in bodies beyond a notion of gradual growth or decay. Entering into various assemblages may solidify or gradually mould the habits of a body, but there is always the possibility for this kind of rupture to occur and there is no way of knowing beforehand how this may play out.

Referring to instincts and habits, *Of Habit* asks 'what is the difference between the tendencies engendered by the continuity or repetition of action and the primitive tendencies that constitute our nature?' (Ravaisson, 2008: 57). Ravaisson goes on to say that instinct is less reflective and more incapable of mistakes or glimpses of 'creativity' in this openness and error. This reveals a problem with Ravaisson's theorization of habit that is somewhat at odds with my approach to rethinking this ontological terrain, which comes with his use of the term hierarchy of beings. He insists that vegetal and animal life are inferior to human life and lack the creative fallibility of habit because of their reliance on instinct, referring to 'a superior degree of life, however, implies a greater variety of metamorphoses, a more complicated organization, a higher heterogeneity' (Ravaisson, 2008: 33). Recognizing the variations and differences between bodies is important to my project but this hierarchization does not have a place here, as it enforces an antiquated view of human superiority in a passive world of inferior

bodies. This goes against the implications of using affect to rethink this ontological terrain, which I outlined previously as grounding bodies in the same ontological elements whilst also maintaining differences between them. Here, I theorize the differences between bodies using the concept of capacities instead, which requires no moralization or hierarchization over what kind of body is 'better'.

Habit is a creative and dynamic force through which change emerges, even if that change remains imperceptible. This contrasts the Cartesian-Kantian approach to habit as a force which inhibits creativity or intellectual activity by tying humans down to instinctual behaviours. Dewsbury asserts, therefore, that the Ravaissonian way of thinking habit is a 'powerful redefinition of human nature and agency' (2015: 32). Theorizing habit as something beyond instinctual, automaton-like action has a wider history (see Bourdieu, 1990; Seamon, 1980), but here I draw from a specifically Ravaissonian-Deleuzean understanding and lineage to elucidate difference, change, and stasis as important factors in understanding our relation with urban spaces. Under this specific approach, habit is the terrain through which the new emerges. Bodies become inclined in particular directions towards certain actions but this never becomes impossible to change; the dynamism of habit remains regardless. Thinking through habit as a force of change does not mean it is only valid when it is gaining ground, however, as the role of habit in creating the feeling of stability in repetition is also important for lived experience. The openness to change that characterizes habit does not disappear when we think of it as something which produces the feeling of sameness; it remains as 'a fundamentally creative capacity that produces the possibility of stability in a universe in which change is fundamental' (Grosz, 2013: 219). It is also important to avoid the moralistic tones of self-improvement that sometimes come along with habit talk. As Deleuze argues 'it is useless to point to the existence of immoral or bad habits' (1994: 4).

However, critiquing and untangling the habits that capitalist urban spaces produce in bodies is important work that does not follow a moralistic line about what is 'good' or 'bad' habitual behaviour. Instead, this recognizes the limitations that capitalism places upon bodies. Therefore, although this definition of habit is bodily, dynamic, and open to the future it is still important to recognize that a capitalist urban environment can produce limiting and limited habits through relational encounters. Following this point, the ethical questions posed surrounding the formation, interruption, and stasis of habits are shifted as attention is paid to the environment within which they are formed and the opportunities, or lack thereof, which are offered to bodies. The concept of habit is essential here because it allows me to affirmatively critique elements of temporary urbanism that are rooted in the relations between bodies. This deviates from critiques based on large scale notions of success or structural

change that much of the literature relies upon, moving towards a micropolitical understanding of temporary urbanism.

Geographical work that builds upon this Ravaissonian-Deleuzean definition of habit has grown in prominence alongside increasing engagement with Deleuze and the recent translation of *Of Habit* into English. Inquiry using this theorization of habit has covered questions of the relation between landscape and performative materialities (Dewsbury, 2015), the role of habit in the construction and stylisation of subjectivity (Lapworth, 2015; Hynes and Sharpe, 2015), sensation and inhabitation (Paterson, 2013), and how it acts as an infrastructure for the lived experience of place (Bissell, 2015). This geographical work demonstrates that it has the potential to be a key conceptual tool retheorizing temporary urbanism. It offers a way to talk about the back-and-forth constitution of bodies in relation and how this lends itself to rhythms of action at different scales, such as stasis and dynamism. For urban geography, this concept of habit is significant for exploring the subjectifying power of capitalist space, as 'capitalism works most effectively through the pre-cognitive, pre-verbal, and pre-personal realms' (Midwood, 2015: 6). This theorization of habit explores the subjectifying process not from the perspective of automaton-like behaviour, but the dynamic ways that habits can form and solidify.

This thesis engages with work on Ravaissonian-Deleuzean habit to reconceptualise temporary urbanism and develop a style of critique that is lacking from the discourse. It is vital to pay attention to the way that bodies form habits through the relations with other bodies; in urban spaces this means that capitalist processes are entangled in these encounters. This resonates with Simmel's (1903, in 2002) influential argument that the sensory overload of the city has resulted in a particularly detached disposition of the urbanite. Using Ravaisson to rethink this means understanding that what Simmel refers to is not a deadened shell which has been built around the body that traps us, but a habitual relation to the city whereby sensation becomes dulled through prolonged exposure. However, this is not something set in stone with Ravaisson and, as shown, our habits can be potentially altered through gradual adaptation or sudden interruption. Even with a habitual relation to the city that is well rehearsed, the notion that we will never notice particular sensations or never enact particular actions is simply untrue. The potential always exists in parallel with actuality.

Deleuze's concept of difference in itself can be helpful to think about how each enactment of a habit is singular, rather than a repetition. We may enter into relations repetitively but these are always 'different in themselves' as no body present in this constellation remains the same. By using affect as a theoretical underpinning of this framework, this means the body is a continuous site of becoming. Habit provides us with a disposition towards the built environment, but the actions are always singular and different in

themselves. For example, repetitive walking through a given space and not stopping before the destination or for 'valid' reasons can make it harder to stop because the habitual disposition towards the environment is well-rehearsed; this impacts the way that people participate in or encounter temporary urbanism events. This links to Ravaisson's notion of inertia which refers to a body's 'tendency to persist in its way of being' (2008: 27). However, there may be variation in the speed of step, rhythm of gait, or small adjustments to movement. These demarcate this walk as different, without accounting for the other elements occurring within the lived body that alter the experience of this habitual enactment such as digestion, distraction, emotion, and so on. Elements of difference, as understood through Deleuze, exist mainly on a pre-cognitive or imperceptible level in the relations between various bodies in those spaces, as well as the habits also being expressed as corporeal attunements which no longer require cognitive attention. This links to Ravaisson's notion of sensation being dulled and becoming blasé to certain things which once required cognitive attention. In this way, this understanding of habit demonstrates that temporary urbanism is intertwined with all different kinds of events in the contemporary city, rather than being 'separate' from it.

Therefore, temporary urbanism may interrupt particular urban habits as they 'invite strangers to suspend their conditioned habits and rethink the possibilities for their use of space' (Bishop and Williams, 2012: 96), but these events can also contribute to well-rehearsed habitual enactments. The way that habit impacts responses to temporary urbanism can be conscious or unconscious, enacted or imagined. Beyond the human, these kinds of events could alter the urban habits of birds in choosing a nest site or contribute to the continued decay of a wall, which has become inclined in that direction. Yet it is important to note that although habit can be rethought as a dynamic force, repeating particular movements does not always results in doing these with more ease. There are limitations on capacities which are habitual but cannot be altered, such as enacting a movement in a body with a chronic illness that prevents the growth of ease or linear progress due to flare ups (Bissell, 2009). As such, there are many limitations on various bodies' abilities to interact within the urban environment. So, habitual relations with the world do not always produce a change, and they are not always positive. An event that can be defined as temporary urbanism reinforces or reproduces particular habits for some bodies, such as a feeling of alienation or anxiety in public space, which diminishes the capacity for going out into the world or a particular neighbourhood, or feeling at home in these spaces. As increments are made, as capacities are augmented, tendencies can become habits. As Dewsbury points out, the barely perceptible changes in our habitual behaviours eventually 'hit thresholds upon which it becomes clear that transformation in skill, behaviour and competency has been achieved' (2015: 39). Resulting from this is an understanding of the becomings that temporary urbanism engenders, which are tied up within bodies' habits. A threshold crossed can be recognised as perceptible change.

Therefore, rethinking this ontological terrain through Ravaisson-Deleuze reveals habit to be a dynamic force. Habit underpins everything from this perspective, even what appears to be stasis. This theorization shifts the questions raised about the urban environment in terms of how temporary urbanism can interrupt habitual behaviours, or contribute to a solidification of capitalist urban habits.

## Durations

Rethinking durations has significant impact for theorizing temporary urbanism. Events exceed their apparent lifespan; they go on for longer in their affective life and do not just end. As many historical geographers emphasise, they can live on and continue to resonate as time passes, 'haunting' the city through affective resonances (Pile, 2005; Brigstocke, 2016). As such, they are not 'over' as they may appear. This aspect of my theoretical approach allows me to ask questions of what the 'temporary' in temporary urbanism means. It also opens up ways to rethink the role of temporary urbanism in the progression of gentrification. To rethink the durations of temporary urbanism, I turn to Bergson and his interpretation by Deleuze. Bergson, building on Ravaisson's thesis *Of Habit,* contends that time cannot be quantified in measurements, or, at least, that 'measured time' does not reflect 'lived time'. Like the contraction of habits or sensation, there are more elements to an event than we may be cognizant of. For Bergson, 'perception expresses the quick organization of simplified, schematized images fitted roughly to the needs of action. This mode of experience is indispensable. We could not get through the day without such simplifications' (Connolly, 2010: 102). Bergson offers the concept of durée, duration, which differs from measured time as it has 'no likeness to number; an organic evolution which is yet not an increasing quantity; a pure heterogeneity within which there are no distinct qualities' (Bergson, 2018: 226). Duration is considered as a transition, as a chance, as a becoming, 'but it is a becoming that endures, a change that is substance itself' (Deleuze, 1988: 37). This move away from a quantified, measured time results in an openness, a possibility of difference, between bodies in the experience of time: it might speed up or slow down depending on each body.

Building on Bergson and Deleuze, Connolly argues that 'we participate in at least two registers of temporal experience, action-oriented perception and the slower experience of the past folding into the present and both flowing toward the future' (2010: 4). The first register is needed to create structure for life, whilst the second is needed for life's richness and intensities. This second register of time as a flow, of past flowing into present whilst the present flows forward, speaks to the way that duration acts upon bodies and habits entangled in life. Thinking about duration in this way is ineffable but can be imagined or gestured towards with the image of 'two spools', one unravelling to represent aging and one rolling up

to represent memory (Bergson, 1992). Vitalist theory and the process of always becoming, always changing, openness and affirmation might sound ignorant of the way we really experience things: sometimes life is boring. It drags. Duration, alongside a Ravaissonian-Deleuzean understanding of habit, resituates 'staying the same' as something already incredibly varied. Duration offers a link between this experience-based 'dullness' and stasis and the vitalist ontology of thinkers such as Deleuze. It also situates habit within time thoroughly by emphasising those interminglings between past, present, and future, something important to my relational framework in retheorizing temporary urbanism because it expands the terms of critique.

The concept of the virtual and the actual is another key concept in rethinking how events exceed their apparent end; the roots of this are found in Bergson, but are elaborated on by Deleuze. Every event, regardless of scale, consists of the 'actual' happening that Deleuze calls 'the moment in which the event is embodied in a state of affairs' yet also encompasses a virtual dimension (1990: 151). The virtual is no less real than the actual, but reconfigures the temporality of the actual event because 'there is the future and the past of the event considered in itself, sidestepping each present, being free of the limitations of a state of affairs, impersonal and pre-individual, neutral, neither general nor particular' (Deleuze, 1990: 151). The virtual can never be fully known or predicted, as it goes beyond the imaginable possible or potential. Therefore, this concept helps construct an ontological framework of becoming, as actual events change the virtual realm in unknowable ways. As Boundas, editor and translator of Deleuze, argues:

> 'The virtual and the actual are two mutually exclusive, yet jointly sufficient, characterisations of the real. The actual/real are states of affairs, bodies, bodily mixtures and individuals… without being or resembling the actual, the virtual nonetheless has the capacity to bring about actualisation and yet the virtual never coincides or can be identified with its actualisation.'
>
> (in Parr, 2005: 296-7)

Therefore, the realm of the virtual is undeniably linked to that of experimentation, lines of flight, and alternative modes of subjectivation. One way of thinking about how the virtual impacts the theorization of a temporary event is to consider how the event endures beyond its apparent end. How does the event feed into the virtual and make alternative tendencies and subjectivities a little more real, a little more possible? It may seem that a temporary urbanism event has no impact on the city beyond its end, but the traces left on bodies that encountered it have resulting unknowable virtuals. As Deleuze and Guattari state, 'nothing happens, and yet everything changes, because becoming continues to pass through its components again

and to restore the event that is actualized elsewhere, at a different moment' (1994: 158). For temporary urbanism, the ethical component of this is to consider how the micropolitics of an event contribute to the virtual realm of the city, and what kind of logics and bodies these elements might serve.

With this shift in mind, critiques of temporary urbanism related to gentrification and cultural capital (see Deslandes, 2013; LaFrombois, 2015) that are characteristic of the *Temporary Urbanism 1* framework can be reconsidered. A slow collection of events may gradually contribute to a moment of not being able to put up with what has gone before. Or, as Deleuze (2007) would describe it, the 'crack' of the line which gives way to another direction of becoming. Submerged within the varying intensities of affect, such a change is not perceptible and the diminishment of capacities may go unnoticed until a particular moment where one no longer feels at home, safe, or welcome. Or, the variation that bodies are always existing with is only noticed when 'the change has become so formidable as to force itself on our attention' (Bergson, 2018: 3). If we think about gentrification as a change that creeps in this way, something that exists on the micro level, then the language of capacities, habits, and durations lends us the conceptual tools to discuss these changes with a different kind of depth that moves away from a focus on the macro. As Sharpe, Dewsbury, and Hynes emphasise, 'the question, then, concerns how we can affirm the more subtle temporality of politics which our habitual ways of thinking and doing politics tend to underplay' (2014: 116). In particular, this means being attentive to the affective and intensive forces in bodies during temporary urbanism's evaluation. In my analysis, particularly in Chapter 6, I explore how the momentary, everyday encounters with gentrifying intensities have a power that needs to be explored more thoroughly with this conceptual framework.

Within this chapter I have fleshed out three ontological terrains that are vital for my retheorization of temporary urbanism. I have explored how an expanded understanding of bodies, through Deleuze-Spinoza's work that is relational and affective, recognizes the agency of more-than-human bodies. This shifts the way that the actors of temporary urbanism are defined and understood, which alters the terms of critique. A dynamic understanding of habit, through Deleuze-Ravaisson, has also been included to provide the conceptual tools to discuss how temporary urbanism can disrupt habitual behaviours, solidify neoliberal urban habits, or make subtle changes. I have also explored the concept of duration, through Deleuze-Bergson, to lay the foundation for my analysis of how temporary urbanism events extend beyond their apparent end and how intensities can permeate across various temporalities. This will allow me to evaluate how temporary urbanism can enact gentrifying power at a micro level. At this point, I hope it is clear what lineages of thought and key thinkers are informing my conceptual framework. *Temporary Urbanism 2* can open up alternative ways of critiquing and

researching temporary urbanism. This can provide a greater level of depth in analysis by broadening the terms with which temporary urbanism is discussed, rather than limiting the terms of critique by continuing to rely on the framework of *Temporary Urbanism 1*. To apply this conceptual framework of researching temporary urbanism, in the next chapter I evaluate my methodological approach, research methods, and my own temporary urbanism event.

# Chapter 3 – Research Methods

## Methodological Approach and Review

My own temporary urbanism events take the form of participatory drawing events using chalk art on the pavement. Chalk's material properties mean it can be considered fairly temporary; its dispersal and pliability can illuminate how temporary events extend beyond their intended site or timeframe. How temporary urbanism events like this are researched and evaluated matters because it links to how they are conceptualized and understood. Here, I outline my methodological approach, partly informed by new materialist thought and non-representational theory. My argument in this chapter is that this kind of conceptualization around temporary urbanism can be put into practice, and I begin by setting out how my methodological approach draws from work within geography that speaks to three main elements to the methodological approach I am engaging with here. These, though overlapping, are non-representational theory and how it shifts research on the body, a focus on more-than-human, affective, and intensive forces that contribute to geographical knowledge, and an experimental and creative approach to research methods. Following this review, I outline the methods I use in my fieldwork to research temporary urbanism, which are ethnography, creative writing, and the use of images. This chapter concludes by setting out the practicalities of my own temporary urbanism events, participatory chalk art events, introducing the sites and context surrounding their development.

### Non-representational theory

My research methodology is aligned with non-representational theory, a movement in cultural geography that stresses a non-prescriptive approach to research. Non-representational research is attentive to the fleshy and material elements of life that exceed representation, as well as stressing the role of everyday, mundane practices in meaning-making and the production of knowledge (Anderson and Harrison, 2010; Dewsbury, 2009; 2010; 2011; Harrison, 2000; Laurier and Philo, 2006; McCormack, 2013; Patchett, 2010; 2015; 2016; Rodaway, 1994; Thrift, 1996; 2000; 2007; Wylie, 2005). This does not do away with attempts to represent knowledge, but recognizes that nothing can be captured in order to be perfectly represented in research. Instead, non-representational attempts to 'evoke', 'present', and 'gesture towards' life-in-the-making. Summarising this, Laurier and Philo argue that 'on the rough ground of practical life, all kinds of representational and non-representational work are always going on, bumbling along together, mutually supporting one another or perhaps sometimes undermining one another' (2006: 4).

As Patchett argues, 'what unites these diverse research efforts is the argument for a more democratic relationship between conceptual and empirical work' (2010: 68). Non-representational theory is vast, and it aims to retheorize the body in a number of ways that

emphasise the fleshy, material, sensory, and affective realms, as well as acknowledging the role of more-than-human and material bodies. This speaks to my conceptual framework of researching temporary urbanism, as informed by Deleuze in conjunction with Spinoza, Ravaisson, and Bergson. Through an attention to the micropolitics of the event and a re-evaluation of how to experiment with more traditional research methods, my methodological approach emphasises the more-than-human, intensive, affective, and sensory forces that non-representational theory stresses as vital for geographic knowledge. This is key to opening up another way of understanding temporary urbanism events that is more focused on affirmative critique and not limiting the discourse around this urban phenomenon (McCormack, 2012).

**More-than-human, affective, intensive forces**

Using a Spinozan-Deleuzean understanding of affect as more-than-human, researching affective and intensive forces means recognizing all kinds of bodies' power to play a role in what unfolds in urban spaces to produce geographic knowledge. There has been a turn to experimental methodologies due to perceived deficiencies in humanist methods, emphasised by Whatmore's call for 'the urgent need to supplement the familiar repertoire of humanist methods that rely on generating talk and text with experimental practices that amplify other sensory, bodily and affective registers and extended the company and modality of what constitutes a research subject' (2006: 607). This came from her recognition that 'new' cultural geography that was engaging with ideas of affect and the importance of the more-than-human was still weighed down by methods that spoke to the production of landscape as a purely human endeavour related to meaning-making (2006). This narrows the scope of what counts as research output or what kind of body counts as a research subject. The amplification of other registers that Whatmore (2006) speaks to is at the core of my methodological approach, and it is the working out of *how* that can be done that can require experimentation, creativity, and risk-taking.

There are many examples of how experimentation with 'classic' and 'new' methods of knowledge production has been deployed in geography to engage with more-than-human, affective, and intensive forces (Anderson and Harrison, 2010; Hawkins, 2013; 2015; Ingold, 2013; Patchett, 2014; Straughan, 2015; Wakeford and Lury, 2012). One key example entangled in an urban setting is Patchett and Enigbokan's (2011) audio-visual installation 'Terrible Karma' that recalls the story of the deaths of garment factory workers, uniting this with the voices of present-day factory workers. Situated within a truck driving through New York, this recalled the layers of intensities that exist simultaneously within urban space. This experimental work performed past intensities in a mobile setting, in order 'to unsettle traditional conceptions of temporality and spatiality' (Patchett and Enigbokan, 2011: 541). This speaks to the various durations of meaning-making that intersect and act across various

temporalities, relating to spectral elements of urban geography. This also aligns with Spinoza's (1996) note that past and future bodies have an affective and intensive power in the present. Whilst holding onto to a non-representational approach, it is significant that it is not about 'getting at' these forces and pinning them down in a quantifiable (or even speakable) way. Enigbokan and Patchett also argue that 'introducing elements of speculation and play into the tool-kit of the urban geographer (academic or otherwise) might also provide alternative frameworks for approaching urban 'problems", emphasising that the experimental and creative approach to research is one way of investigating these forces (2011: 544).

**Experimental and re-enchanted approaches**

What being experimental means to geographers is contested (Last, 2012), but for this project I mean not being bound by strict expectations of how research output should be attained or presented. This is informed by notion that experimental geography that is 'searching for methods that meet the imperatives of new theories, existing complexities or desired accessibility' (Last, 2012: 708). Non-representational theory and an attentiveness to more-than-human, affective, and intensive forces emphasise being *open* to the changes that unfold, particularly in interactions with more-than-human bodies, and this requires a shift in methods in order to speak to those theoretical elements. For this project that means engaging with accessible methods that can be experimented with in a creative way, such as the development and research of my own temporary urbanism events. The manner with which I approached my fieldwork also links to the call of Woodyer and Geoghegan (2012) that geographical research can be 're-enchanted'. Aligned with Bennett's (2001) concept of enchantment as an affective mode of encountering the world with openness, this means, in practical and enact-able terms, maintaining an openness and accepting changeability in research. This aligns with my emphasis on affirmative critique (McCormack, 2012). It also means acknowledging the changes that can result in the researcher during the research encounter, which is why using ethnography and a style of writing that incorporates my own experience can align my empirics with the concept of enchantment. The style of ethnography and creative writing presented here also speak to Whatmore's call for methods to 'amplify other sensory, bodily and affective registers' (2006: 607).

Engaging with ethnography and creative writing in an experimental and re-enchanted way is to 'view the impossibility of empirical research as a creative opportunity (rather than a damning condition)' (Vannini, 2015: 319). As Hawkins argues, 'engagement with the artful proffers the means to grasp the messy, unfinished and contingent – in everything from spatial imaginaries to knowledge-making practices – that a lot more scientifically inclined geography might orient us away from' (2015: 248). Attempts to be experimental and, as Woodyer and Geoghegan (2012) state, re-enchanted in research on temporary urbanism can be aided by

engaging with creative and playful methods. Returning to Whatmore's (2006) call to expand the registers upon which meaning is made and to extend what is understood as a research subject, this means engaging with an urban environment understood as a vital and affective assemblage within which myriad bodies are acting. In the next section, I work through how some traditional methods can be repurposed to attend to this call for experimental research, an attentiveness to more-than-human and intensive forces, and a non-representational approach.

## Methods

Ethnography, creative writing, and images are the three main methods of researching my chalk art events and temporary urbanism more generally. In this section, I introduce the approaches to using these tools in a way that speaks to the methodological approach I have described in the previous section, emphasising how the conceptual framework of *Temporary Urbanism 2* can extend through methodology as well. The styles of ethnography, writing, and images are all impacted by my methodological approach, aligned with non-representational ways of doing research in human geography that emphasise the more-than-human and affective forces entangled in urban spaces. Below, I argue why these methods have been chosen for this specific research project and how they are useful for producing knowledge around the bodies, habits, and durations of temporary urbanism. I begin with an explanation of my ethnography in the field, discussing the vignettes produced and the creative writing involved in my project, as well as speaking to the use of images in my project.

Thrift (2000a) has called for a shift in ethnographic research from participant observant to observant participant, shifting the attention of the researcher towards immersive practices rather than detached observations. Practically, this shifts one's attention during the research encounter and reframes how the observations are produced. By being immersed in my ethnographic work on the chalk art events as an observant participant, I was attentive to sensation and the interactions between the various bodies involved in the temporary urbanism event. Yet, traditional elements of ethnographic research in geography remained: I made field notes in a notebook, took photos on a camera, and recorded a post-event interview with volunteers on a microphone. There is also a canon of ethnographic approaches that I have engaged with in my practice. Specifically, the style of ethnography I have used is informed by sensory ethnography (outlined by Pink, 2007). The ethnographic vignettes produced are aligned with a creative and affective way of writing, inspired by my own encounters with affective writing such as that of Brigstocke (2016), Lorimer (2006), Stewart (2007), and Wylie (2005).

Sensory ethnography is informed by the multidisciplinary 'sensorial turn'. As outlined by Howes (2003), early proponents of this movement were anthropologists (Classen, 1997;

Geurts, 2002; Howes, 1991; Porteous, 1985; Stoller, 1989), though this has spread through many disciplines within the humanities, arts, and social sciences. For geography, the main focus of sensory research is exploring how the senses act 'both as a relationship to the world and… [as] a kind of structuring of space and defining of place' (Rodaway, 1994: 4). Sensory ethnography takes its starting point as 'the multisensoriality of experience, perception, knowing and practice' (Pink, 2007: 1). There is no prescriptive or set way of enacting sensory ethnography; it is about creating and representing knowledge of the event through writing, with particular emphasis placed upon sensory elements. This recognizes the ethnographer's role in the site of the research, simultaneously a 'constituent' 'and an agent in its production' (Pink, 2007: 64), which links to my theoretical approach to the urban as constituted by many different bodies. One thing important to my practice here was, as Pink notes, to 'self-consciously and reflexively attending to the senses throughout the research process, that is during the planning, reviewing, fieldwork, analysis and representational processes of a project' (Pink, 2007: 10). I expanded Pink's work by not focusing solely on the senses, but attuning to affective forces throughout the project, too.

Additionally, I present written vignettes for each section that try to maintain an attentiveness on the affective and intensive forces of the event. These are based on my field notes and incorporate them somewhat, but stylistically they differ. These vignettes use elements of creative writing in order to draw out elements important to my research, such as the affective and sensory environment. They also jump around between events, times, and actions. These kinds of stylistic choice can 'make our ethnographic research 'dance a little'' (Vannini, 2014: 329). Yet, they remain rooted in 'observant participant' ethnography and use sensory experiences and feelings to inform the writing. These are supplemented by transcripts of a mainly unstructured interview I recorded with some of the volunteers following an event, which acted as a kind of 'debrief', arranged in a way as to try and evoke the flow of people in conversation (though I will mention here that I failed to note many of the non-verbal cues).

Evocative and affective writing is being taken more seriously as geographical research output, as demonstrated by the work of Ingold (2007; 2011), Lorimer (2003; 2006), and Wylie (2005). Reworking literary tradition to attune to contemporary questions in cultural geography, these writers use various methods of narrative and storytelling 'as a way of revealing the landscape' and evoking the forces entangled in the making of place (Lorimer and Daniels, 2012: 6). Using this style of writing fieldwork and ethnographic experience, Stewart argues that this point of this work is not 'to finally "know" [these forces]… but to fashion some form of address that is adequate to their form; to find something to say about ordinary affects by performing some of the intensity and texture that makes them habitable and animate' (2007: 4). Vannini (2014) identifies this mode of writing ethnography as 'non-

representational ethnography' that draws out key elements of the event: vitality, performativity, corporeality, sensuality, and mobility. My ethnographic vignettes try to be attentive to the more-than-human, affective, and intensive forces encountered in the field.

There are some criticisms of this approach to ethnographic writing. Firstly, these accounts still have a self-centred voice, which might be particularly glaring in a research project attempting to write as an observant participant, entangled in a variety of more-than-human bodies that cannot 'speak', yet are being taken as research subjects. Undoubtedly, language cannot capture or represent the pre-cognitive realm effectively, and 'the encounter at the heart of fieldwork [is] ultimately unspeakable' (Laurier and Philo, 2006: 1). This does not mean projects that try to write affective and intensive forces should be abandoned, however. Massumi turns this criticism on its head by asserting that 'this mediation is the way a lot of theorists try to overcome the old Cartesian duality between mind and body, but it actually leaves it in place and just tries to build a bridge between them' (2002: 6). Language is a bodily act, whether it be thinking or writing or speaking. Even 'reading experiences are themselves sensorial' (Pink, 2007: 128). Rather than developing a new language to better communicate the sensory (as Tucker, 2011 suggests), it is better to experiment with the language we already have to express our affective and sensory experiences, whilst accepting that it can never be a 'true' representative account. Therefore, experimental and creative writing styles incorporated into academic techniques such as autoethnography stretch the traditional practices of knowledge. For this project, a creative writing style allowed me to evoke the intensive, sensory and affective forces of the event. This was vital for me to do in order to speak to the elements of my conceptual framework and to determine how an alternative approach to researching temporary urbanism, informed by affirmative critique (McCormack, 2012), can produce text that speaks to the event's affective relations.

As well as these vignettes, I have included images of the events relevant to the thematic content of each section. These are layered beneath, above, and around the writing. Pink argues that the inclusion of photographs in sensory ethnography does not reinforce the ocularcentrism of traditional scholarship but has 'the capacity to bring textures, surfaces and the sensory experiences they evoke right up close to the reader' (2007: 136). With the hope that they do not detract, but act as an anchor for accounts, the images are intended as a textural and evocative inclusion. This links to McCormack and Latham's work in Berlin (2009), which builds on geographic visual methods, focusing on how images might participate in non-representational fieldwork. They assert that 'images are also blocks of sensation with an affective intensity' (2009: 253). Like words, they still 'fail' to capture what happened during the event. Important to this is that images should not be thought of as capture. Like McCormack and Latham's (2009) claim that images can be generative and mobilise concepts,

my own use of montaged images try to mobilise the elements I drawing out in my retheorization of temporary urbanism, such as skin touching the pavement and the role of more-than-humans in the site. I use montaged images layered over one another alongside the vignettes so as to draw together a larger impression of what happened, without emphasising chronology or capture, which might have happened if I had presented images in a different sequence or arrangement.

## Chalk Art-ing Events

Participatory chalk art events meet the requirements of how I define temporary urbanism. Referring back to Enigbokan's (2015) definition of urbanism as beyond the gallery space, the events also took place outside on publicly accessible streets and theoretically remained open to all. The events have a visual element that means they can be interacted with through observation as well as participation in the drawing itself, offering different actors various options. The accessibility and playfulness of chalk makes it an important temporary urban intervention to consider. Its natural characteristics of 'easy pliability and erasibility' make it more inviting to most people than other permanent tools (Yaneva, 2003: 182). Chalk is a fairly familiar medium for most people: a mark making device that does not provoke the same kind of apprehension that picking up a paintbrush or a spray can might because of its impermanence and erasibility. For my project, it brings to the fore a variety of the relational aspects of my approach. It makes visible the haptic interactions between hand, chalk, and pavement, as well as the durations inherent to a viscerally dusty material. This opens up space for inquiry into the short-term/long-term duality of these events.

The choice of a chalk art event was an accessible kind of temporary urbanism for me to enact, whilst remaining participatory and open to different forms of engagement, as emphasised by Roe and Buser (2016). Through their creation of an interactive food experience in a vacant shop, they aimed 'to create a space for sharing and exchange, different elements and different affects, and different opportunities to (dis)engage' (2016: 583). For them, the material and sensory interactions, such as kneading bread or smelling tomatoes, created an immersive environment wherein these opportunities were actualized. Offering this kind of 'direct bodily engagement' with the familiar – in their case food, but relevant to familiar urban space too – offers opportunities for engagement beyond the researcher's plans (Roe and Buser, 2016: 592). My first event took place outside of a café in a walkway which straddled the designation of public and private space, and the second was enacted outside MK Gallery as part of their MK Calling exhibition (MK Gallery, 2017). The choice of these two sites began with my familiarity with Milton Keynes being my hometown, and the feeling that I knew the space, rather than entering as an 'outsider' researcher. It was also important for my bodily limitations as a person with a chronic illness that I chose a site that was accessible, as I would

have been unable to do emergent events for longer time periods, further away from a 'home', or experiment with more physically taxing versions of temporary urbanism e.g. the creation of parklets or installation of street furniture.

My interest in Milton Keynes also related to its grid-like spatial organization and links to Deleuze and Guattari's concept of striated space, one which 'produces an order and succession of distinct forms, organizes horizontal… lines with vertical… planes' (1987: 477). This exists opposed to smooth space, one full of intensities and potentials. Their concept of smooth and striated space is useful for theorizing the way Milton Keynes' space is coded for particular behaviours. There are particular spatial dictations in Milton Keynes that result from a town planned for cars in a grid system; often home life is lived in one square, work in another, and leisure in another, with vehicle use dominating the travel between these squares. As such, the norms of the space are clearly defined and habits are well rehearsed in line with that square's planned intentions. The centre, which contained both of my sites, is often the focus of weekend activities with a large shopping centre, restaurant districts, and so on. In her work on Milton Keynes, Piko notes that some criticisms of the centre once argued that it provided 'too much sensory input, thereby resulting in a kind of hypnosis, de-sensitisation or affective deadening' (2017: 156). These criticisms echo Simmel's arguments about the overstimulation of urban subjects (1903, in 2002). The town centre is also criticised for its deviation away from traditional urban layouts, layered with history, and lauded as a new town, wherein 'boredom is pregnant with desires, frustrated frenzies, unrealised possibilities' (Lefebvre, 1960 in Moran, 2009: np). This is not to say there are not moments of transgression or evidence of smooth space entangled within this system, but the clear boundaries of the grid system contribute to action moreso than more walkable, mixed-use towns and cities.


*Image 1: Rillaton Walk during the chalk art event (June 2016)*

The first site, Rillaton Walk, appears to be public space (Image 1). It is a walkway leading into the main square of a restaurant district known as the Hub which also has apartment buildings above. The walkway chosen had a coffee shop, Bogota Coffee Company, who had agreed to the event taking place outside their entrance, as well as a restaurant, an estate agent, and a yoga studio. The colour was overwhelmingly grey as there is not much plant life excluding the trees at one end or grass and mosses growing in the small gaps between paving slabs. The tall offices and apartment buildings surround the walkway, meaning it was quite a dark space. However, despite its appearance, this was not a public space. The Hub is managed by a security firm and property management service, Broad Oak Management, and I was advised by the coffee shop to seek permission to draw on the pavement from the security team so we were not asked to stop mid-event. I only received this permission with the agreement that we would not obstruct business and we would wash the chalk art away afterwards. This limits the radical claims I can make about my fieldwork, but I wanted to emphasise the small moments of encounter that can occur within events that may not seem particularly radical or politically powerful at first.

This chalk art event took place on Saturday 4th June 2016, beginning at 10am and ending around 5pm (with a short time afterwards spent cleaning up, as required by the site's

management). I met my three volunteers at the coffee shop, two of whom were known to me before the event. Volunteers began by working on some large-scale drawings of their own, and for around an hour it was only them and myself chalk art-ing. After this hour, a few people who had been at the coffee shop joined in with their children to contribute something, and coffee shop employees contributed as well. In total, around fifty to sixty people contributed to the chalk art; most were pedestrians on their way elsewhere or visitors to the coffee shop who began by watching and chatting to volunteers about what they were doing. I would estimate that this was around a seventh of bystanders and passers-by (though some of these people were audience their families or friends chalk art-ing). At this event, around a quarter of participants were children. The coffee shop, the volunteers, and myself all used Twitter and Instagram to alert people to what was going on, and a coffee shop patron posted a photo of the event to the official MKFM (a local radio station) Facebook page. Clean-up was done using water in a bucket, given to us by the coffee shop, and two brooms (one of which a volunteer bought in a nearby Sainsbury's). Following this, myself and the volunteers discussed the event whilst resting on outdoor seating at the coffee shop, overhearing two people mention that they had seen something about a chalk art event happening on Facebook earlier in the day.


*Image 2: The square between MK Gallery and Milton Keynes Theatre during the chalk art event (May 2017)*

With another chalk art event in mind, I successfully applied to be part of the MK Calling exhibition as part of Milton Keynes' 50th anniversary, which sought contributions from artists with an attachment to the local area. The second site, as part of this exhibition, was a large square outside MK Gallery and the adjoining theatre. It is not known for much footfall as it is on the edge of the centre, despite being near to another restaurant district. I gained permission to draw on the pillars there, a choice made to benefit those who could not access the floor easily. This event was advertised beforehand by the gallery's website as a drop-in event (MK Gallery, 2017) and their social media feeds as part of the exhibition. Being part of an exhibition like this may not be a politically radical form of temporary urbanism, but as I have emphasised I wanted to explore the bodies, habits, and durations of these events in order to be attentive to the micropolitics of encounters that are regularly subsumed into the processes of global capitalism. This can take the form of pop up shops, advertising campaigns, or cultural institutions like galleries that are also caught up in these processes.

This second chalk art event took place on Saturday 20th May 2017 between 11am and 4pm, and at roughly 4pm this ending coincided with a downpour of rain. I met two of my volunteers at the space at 11am, who had been present at the first event, with two more new volunteers joining us an hour later. We were greeted by a member of staff from MK Gallery and given the go ahead to begin. For the first two hours, it was only myself, the volunteers, and up to five others (including the MK Gallery worker) who joined in with the chalk art; a slower start than the first event that I put down the location of the second event not being as centrally located as the first, and thus having fewer passers-by in general. Eventually, more passers-by did join in, as there was a matinee performance in the afternoon at the theatre. All of the volunteers took a short lunch break and went elsewhere, whilst I stayed and ate my lunch and wrote notes inside the gallery facilities we had been given access to. There was no communication by MK Gallery on the social media side of things, and volunteers posted a few photos to Twitter and Instagram of their own work. In total, around seventy people contributed to the chalk art event, which I would estimate was around a sixth of bystanders and passers-by (though some of these people were audience their families or friends chalk art-ing). Around a third of the participants were children, partly due to the theatre performance attracting a lot of families. There was no clean-up for this event. Following its end, we went to a nearby pub where I recorded a semi-structured interview with my volunteers that has quotes featured in this thesis.

I led the organisation of these events through emailing, gaining permissions, gathering materials and recruiting volunteers, but my role during the enactment of the event was mainly that of a facilitator. I participated in the drawing and brought the materials of chalks, kneeling pads, and documents, but the volunteers and I shared the job of drawing and suggesting people

join in. I documented the events moreso than other volunteers because of my note-taking and photography, but they also took photos of their chalk drawings. As mentioned, I took on Thrift's (2000a) notion of being an observant participant, rather than a participant observer. Following Roe and Buser (2016), I intended to remain open to the emergence of what would happen on these days and avoided placing many limitations on the volunteers in terms of what the event was and what or where we should draw. I also limited the amount of promotion for these events, especially the first event outside the coffee shop as at the time I hoped for it to have an eruptive, emergent quality. However, I produced an event description for their website and was encouraged to participate in social media promotion of the event. This added a level of pressure; people often drive to the gallery to visit rather than walking past as they would with the coffee shop. This also demonstrates the ways that temporary urbanism is employed by institutions as an 'attraction' rather than a radical intervention in urban processes, a point which will be dealt with more thoroughly in my analysis.

Two of the volunteers were present for both events, whilst there was one unique volunteer for the first event and two for the second. They were all between 25 and 30 years old with illustration backgrounds, and based in or around the Milton Keynes area. They became part of these events through word of mouth invitations from the two volunteers who were present at both events, who I knew prior to this research. Despite the volunteers' artistic proficiency, the aim was not to assess the end product but to pay attention to the process of its emergence. This aligns with the experimental and creative aspect of my methodological approach to research, following from the work of geographers who emphasise that the focus of arts-informed methods should not always be the end product. Instead, 'we should also recognize how creative practices might make geographical knowledge in the process of doing' (Hawkins, 2015: 256). The focus on the process of creative production intertwined with a theoretical perspective that takes into account the agency of materials opens up an alternative path for how these creative methods are employed.

Therefore my methodological approach is informed by three main elements. These are, firstly, non-representational theory and its shift towards emphasising the fleshy, material, sensory, and affective realms of everyday life. Secondly, an emphasis on the more-than-human, affective, and intensive forces that characterize temporary urbanism and contribute to urban geographic knowledge. Thirdly, an experimental and creative approach that attempts to answer Whatmore's call for methods to 'amplify other sensory, bodily and affective registers' (2006: 607). Drawn together, this methodological approach speaks to the conceptual elements of my retheorization of temporary urbanism, allowing me to remain open to how these events can be affirmatively critiqued (McCormack, 2012). This carries through to my research methods: ethnography, creative writing, and images that were deployed during my

fieldwork of two participatory chalk art events that took place in Milton Keynes. Next, I move on to my analysis chapters using the theoretical lens of bodies, habits, and durations.

## Chapter 4 – Reconfiguring the Bodies of Chalk Art

> 'We know nothing about a body until we know what it can do, in other words, what its affects are, how they can or cannot enter into composition with other affects, with the affects of another body, either to destroy that body or to be destroyed by it, either to exchange actions and passions with it or join with it in composing a more powerful body'
>
> (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987: 300)

A Spinozan-Deleuzean approach to understanding bodies emphasises the affective relations between them. More-than-human bodies impact the unfolding of a temporary urbanism event; it is not just up to human bodies and what appear as intentional actions. As Massumi explains, 'this takes thinking out of the interiority of a psychological subject and puts it directly in the world: in the co-motion of relational encounter' (2015: 211). My reconfiguration of the bodies in a temporary urbanism event pays attention to three main elements. Firstly, exploring the haptic encounters that occur during the chalk art events extends the idea of the body beyond a clearly defined interior and exterior. Using ideas of skin and surface to explore the role of touch in temporary urbanism gestures towards a multisensory approach that re-evaluates an activity like pavement chalk drawing. Secondly, the concept of capacities emphasises a body always in flux, and explores how particular kinds of encounters can extend, augment, or diminish a body's power of acting. Thirdly, the concept of becoming-art and enchantment, and the role that more-than-human bodies play in creative production, reframes ideas of what a creative act is. This is key as 'creative cities' and associated logics are becoming more prevalent.

### Haptic Urban Encounters

Haptic encounters between bodies shape relations with(in) the urban and produce geographic knowledge, so sensory elements relating to touch and skin are essential to consider when researching temporary urbanism. For these chalk art events, the pavement became the canvas upon which a multitude of haptic encounters unfolded through the action of mark-making. Focusing on these tactile interactions, I examine how the mingling of different kinds of bodies, skin, and touches demonstrates the variation of urban haptic encounters. This is grounded in a Spinozan-Deleuzean understanding of a body whereby it is taken as a site of continual becoming. Importantly, these changes are negotiated through a body's sensory and affective relations with the outside, such as the defamiliarizing rough touch of fingertips on pavement and the creative manipulation of chalk, as well as the internal relations of multiplicitous bodies.

*Scraped fingertips along grey pavement, soft flesh pulled along floor as I draw an outline on small gravel surface that's not so smooth close up. Dips and mounds of gravel crushed by feet and rain, rough scratches on flesh which rip through chalk and break through the body, hands unevenly dispersing dust across gravel peaks. Back up again to ask what someone else is doing or maybe shift left, shift right, the chalk spreading and thinning in my hands. Increase the pressure and disperse colour more heavily here, colouring a fish bright blue until the chalk erodes and a knuckle gets dragged across with that same pressure, cutting my hand. I don't notice that until later. Hands are dry and dirty and sore, white scrapes left by the ground under a pink and blue chalk layer. Bare knees are regretted, F tells me as she stands up in her new denim midi skirt. I begin to read the ground better here, seeing all kinds of greys and feeling the effect on imagined drawings before I set chalk to 'canvas'. We all come to know the ground surface a little better as the hours progress, to seek out the places where the dust will settle more brightly or more evenly. We hold chalks like pencils or freely in our palms, fingers outstretched as we rub up and down, covering the surface and catching our fingers or wrists on the rough ground. Later we'll be back down here, closer to the earth, and feel this aptitude return as we crouch, scraping soft fingertips along grey pavement again until they are dried out, dirtied, and scraped once more.*

**Defamiliarization, rough touch, scraped skin**

Skin marked and scratched through its interactions with the ground highlights the importance of sensory interactions in geographical knowledge making. How we relate to the city is impacted by haptic encounters; novel or unfamiliar ones such as fingertips on the ground impact this relationship. As such, the corporeality and materiality of all bodies involved in these haptic encounters becomes central to theorizing how the chalk art events unfolded. The fleshiness of human skin, the breakability of chalk, and the rough surface of the ground are all elements of this more-than-human understanding of corporeal bodies, which recognizes the materiality of the built environment as a form of corporeality and its contributions to the haptic encounters as negotiated.

Defamiliarizing sensory elements in the urban have the potential to alter how we relate to and understand a place. Shklovsky (1917) describes this process: defamiliarization disrupts expectation or previous knowledge about a space, producing a sense of the uncanny or novel. For urban geography, 'the potential to defamiliarise experience by transforming a well-known place into an uncanny or strange realm, brings home how place may be apprehended otherwise' (Edensor, 2014: 6). Here, elements of the chalk art event acted as defamiliarizing by bringing people closer to a ground often a few feet away from the eyes, revealing the 'strange realm' that Edensor (2014) gestures towards. Important, too, was the sensation of touching pavement with fingertips as this produced a different kind of knowledge of city space.

Our flesh touched, and was touched by, the pavement. This 'event' of mutual touch penetrated our skin as jagged pebbles scraped it, marking it temporarily in white scratches or deeper scuffs which tore skin from our knuckles. Our skin was also marked by the chalk. These are dual aspects of skin marking that highlight that skin is 'the medium of passage and exchange, with the attendant possibility of violent reversal or rupture' (Connor, 2004: 65). Much is made of the interactions between body and world, interior and exterior, and this is firmly situated through the skin that acts as 'the medium of passage and exchange', as Connor puts it. Emphasising why haptic encounters are so important to geographic knowledge, Dixon and Straughan (2010) note that a 'sense of place' comes through sensory interactions with the world. The body's senses, particularly touch, are not a distancing gaze that separate body from world but an immersion in it. I emphasise touch as a particularly proximate sense, without dismissing the power of seeing or hearing to immerse bodies 'up close' in the world, because it brings bodies physically and intimately together. This is because 'touching has the capacity to dissolve boundaries, to make proximate that which was far away,' Dixon and Straughan begin, 'and in doing so not only rearranges our metaphysics of intimacy and distance, but pose a danger to any and all systems of order that rely upon distinction and separation' (2010: 454).

This is the radical power of touch: to bring an immediate intensity and intimacy with another body's apparent limit, surface, or skin.

Interactions between fingertips and pavement have their radical potential in their defamiliarizing power to reveal that the ground is '*not so smooth close up'*. This chalk art event acted as a defamiliarizing haptic encounter because it brought participants up close with the ground with their hands rather than their feet. This exposed the skin of the hands to the roughness of materials rarely touched, that of the paving slabs that lined Rillaton Walk as well as the MK Gallery space. Here, hands became '*dry and dirty and sore, white scrapes left by the ground*'. The impact of this encounter on the skin remains beyond the event, as 'the object that has struck me leaves its mark in a painful residue that lingers on my skin in just the same way as an image persists on the retina' (Connor, 2004: 35). The encounter also built to produce sensory knowledge in our coming to know the properties of the pavement affected our chalk mark-making, a trace that remained beyond the event.

Skin is the bodily organ 'against which the other senses figure: it is their milieu' (Connor, 2004: 27). Building upon the notion that the skin is an interface, a twisting interior/exterior as well as a fully corporeal integral limit to the fleshy body: if the skin contains all the senses, and 'our intellect knows nothing that has not first passed through the senses' (Serres, 2008: 162), then the intellect knows nothing which has not first impacted the skin. Relations between body and world have skin as their interface, their interpreter. The haptic elements of the chalk art events produced this knowledge of the surface and impacted our relations with the spaces. Imagined drawings were impacted by this 'knowing' as the event progressed and our understanding of how to participate in the production of chalk art, negotiated with the body of the pavement as well as other bodies assembled in the space, progressed as we learnt the surface of the pavement.

**Skin beyond the human, multiplicitous bodies, dust**

Skin has been theorized in a number of ways which make it pertinent to inquiry into bodies: a layer, a membrane, an interface between body/world (or interior/exterior), and as a milieu upon which all the senses mingle. Connor points out that 'it is the function of the skin in life to maintain the integrity of the body' (2004: 10), but this theorization is strongly focused on human skin. As demonstrated by the negotiated event of the chalk art, bodies are undoubtedly mingled and continually changing due to the relations that unfold between them. Rethinking corporeality to include more-than-human bodies also offers something to the theorizing of skin. We can consider not just human skin as a surface, but also the pavement and pillars in the site. The skin is a surface upon which things 'happen', such as the grazing of hands or the pavement marked with grime, weathering, and chalk dust. Ahmed and Stacey (2001) seek to

think with and through the skin, as a layer with which we touch others and are touched by them. The skin of the pavement produces these negotiated events such as the cutting and scraping of hands during the chalk art drawing, as '*a knuckle gets dragged across with that same pressure, cutting my hand*'. Importantly, as well as a milieu or surface, skin can also be considered as a permeable and porous layer. This 'membrane approach' to the skin is one that emphasises the impact of haptic relations on 'internal' processes, such as knowledge making, and also underlines the fact that our senses are situated on or within the skin. It is through skin that we come to know the world, as Serres writes: 'through these doors we see, hear and experience tastes and fragrances: through these walls, even when they are shut, we touch' (2008: 55). Haptic encounters are vital for producing geographic knowledge.

Reconfiguring the skin as a milieu, surface, or membrane circles around the question of whether a body's boundary is its skin. This question does not just apply to the human but also beyond it. However, thinking about a body's limit as its skin emphasises an idea of a singular whole, rather than being formed of many smaller bodies, all in relation. As Deleuze and Guattari emphasise, 'each individual is an infinite multiplicity, and the whole of Nature is a multiplicity of perfectly individuated multiplicities' (1987: 296). Configuring all bodies as multiplicitous uses the same logic as that of affective relations that move outwards and applies it to the multiples making up an 'individual' body. The ground is made up of tiny pebbles. A piece of chalk is made up of dust, holding together and soon to spread across the ground. The human body is a body in its entirety, integrity and wholeness held together by skin, yet it is also constituted by tiny bodies in relation, such as microbes and bacteria. Deleuze's concept of longitude and latitude, of inward relations and outward relations, is important because it emphasises that relations 'play by the same rules' in all bodies and are vital to the constitution of an individual body. The characteristics of the body as multiplicitous can alter the affective power of the body. For example, chalk dust may not hold together integrally very well, breaking and crushing all over. The gut bacteria of a human body may be imbalanced, resulting in discomfort or fatigue. Thinking about all bodies as multiplicitous reconfigures all action as negotiated through affective relations, whether that be longitudinal or latitudinal.

The longitudinal relations of chalk are vital to consider in this temporary urbanism event and offer a chance to rethink this material as multiplicitous. Chalk, as a kind of dust collected into a pencil-like, mark-making body, is 'a multiplicity of colour gradations deployed according to the initial basic types of dry pastel [affected by] the intensity of the pressure of the drawing hand' (Yaneva, 2003: 177). It is not just a singular chalk, but dust. Dust has disruptive qualities and seems to appear from nowhere at times: a layer over other bodies, rather than a powerful body of its own. The chalk art-ing event made visible the various longitudinal and latitudinal relations and haptic interactions between bodies in urban space

as chalk bodies spread and dispersed differently, depending on the manipulation by the human hand or the texture of the pavement's surface. Dust is made up of all different kinds of bodies mingled together; including skin flakes and hairs, and it has 'a stealthy, disruptive, and subversive quality' (Cobb and Miller, 2010: 289) because of its ability to permeate surfaces and its constant re-emergence. It is 'at times [an] elusive but ever-present material' (Cobb and Miller, 2010: 289). Invoking Walter Benjamin's work (2002) on the dusty Passagen-Werk as something vital rather than something deadening, recognizing dust's role in the production of the built environment can help redefine architecture 'as a negotiated and dynamic process' (Stoppani, 2007: 544). Reconfiguring our tools as chalky, dusty bodies with their own sets of relations internally as well as with hands, pavement, and clothing demonstrated the 'complex material trajectory' of chalk dust (Yaneva, 2003: 183). This multiplicitous body was slowly depleted as it spread over pavement.

**Rethinking temporary urbanism through touch**

Sensory elements, particularly those relating to touch, offer novel approaches to the design and development of temporary urbanism events by moving away from solely audiovisual elements to other kinds of participation. Here, the texture of the different paving slabs offered new ways of manipulating the chalk to produce particular effects. Spending hours drawing on the ground instilled in us a sense of aptitude in our understanding of how to interact with the pavement as a canvas, coming to '*know the ground surface a little better'*. In this way, this temporary urbanism event altered our 'knowledge of the city' through these novel haptic encounters with the ground. Other sensory elements also altered this relation with the urban space. One volunteer began to notice all the litter and dirt through proximity to the ground, stating that *'I always thought it was quite clean area before until I got down there'*. This demonstrates that breaking this habitual relation with the city via a defamiliarizing sensory encounter can alter the mode of attention given to the urban. This meets Bishop and Williams' argument that temporary urbanism can alter the way people engage with city spaces by 'invit[ing] strangers to suspend their conditioned habits and rethink the possibilities for their use of space' (2012: 96).

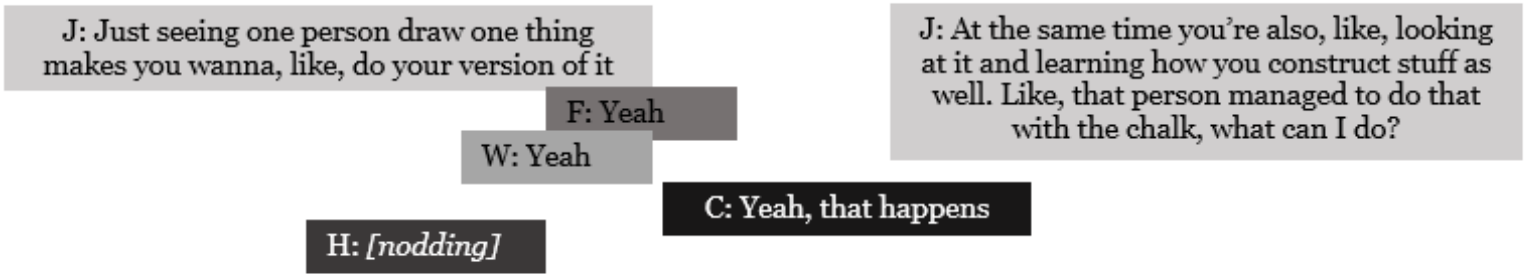
Furthermore, chalk art makes some relational aspects of bodies involved visibly clear by demonstrating the dispersal and spreading of the chalky bodies across different areas. Along with Yaneva's (2003) work on extending an artistic reproduction beyond the gallery space via people walking the art out into the street with them, this could have impacts for considering the way non-chalky events 'spread' beyond their intended site. Whether this be physical spreading via material extension such as dispersal, or digital spreading via social media sharing, affective change can ripple through various bodies who may not be considered 'participants' in the traditional sense. Consequently, considering these events as potentially

explosive in unpredictable directions via haptic encounters between multiplicitous bodies could mean a more considered and ethical approach to the development of these kinds of events.

## Bodily Capacities

The capacities of bodies can shift in various ways through an encounter with temporary urbanism. Already, bodies are continually changing and becoming, a site of continual individuation as expressed through affect. Deleuze argues that rather than thinking about individual bodies increasing in power, emphasis should shift to investigating 'whether relations (and which ones?) can compound directly to form a new, more 'extensive' relation, or whether capacities can compound directly to constitute a more 'intense' capacity or power' (2001: 126). The concept of capacities provides the language to speak of specific and particular ways of different bodies affecting and being affected at varying degrees of intensity, yet maintains this emphasis on bodies in relation. Capacities can be bolstered or chipped away at through encounters. This understanding of bodies emphasises movement and transition rather than relying on a fixed or static understanding of a particular body. Defining bodies in terms of their capacities can also affect the unfolding of the temporary urbanism event in terms of its design, development, enactment, and evaluation. Extending the concept of capacities to more-than-human bodies is essential for this retheorization of temporary urbanism.


*I stand still, eyes scanning over art already come to life on the ground, a half-eroded piece of chalk in my hand. Nothing is coming to me. My legs are getting sore and my shoes are digging in when I crouch down. 'What can I draw that's orange?' I ask F, who is crouching down working on a huge depiction of a bird. She 'ums' and 'ahs' to try and help me. I flick through options in my mind, stuck of what to do and frustrated at myself, jealous of the ease that the rest of the volunteers have in finding ideas and executing them so intricately. Walking through the site, orange chalk clutched in my hand, I look over what we wrote earlier in our hurry to get others involved, suggesting passers-by to draw their favourite animal. Two unicorns stand out to me, one white and golden and another, a child's, tiger striped and purple. Eyes wander up the base of the pillar, jumping over one of H's gibbons that she creates in every medium. The smoothness of that surface, perpendicular to the floor, grabs my attention. The ache in my legs propels me forward and I begin to draw again, welcoming this upright position as a break from crouching on the floor.*




**Capacity expansion and diminishment through chalk art-ing**

As Massumi asserts, 'what [bodies' capacities] are exactly is changing constantly' (2015: 48). Firstly, there are a number of ways this assertion impacts the consideration of thinking human bodies. For example, a person's confidence interacting with materials such as chalk, their ease talking to strangers, level of drawing skill, ability to reach the ground without pain, familiarity with the specific site or the town/city, as well as a number of imperceptible and undefinable ways bodies can act (or not). This also considers the 'in the moment' dynamic differentiations in the body that may impact the encounter and various levels of participation such as fatigue levels, stomach ache, high serotonin levels, mental distractions, and so on. As Spinoza argues, joyful or sad affects shift our capacities over time, as through affect 'the mind affirms of the body, or of some part of it, a greater or lesser force of existing than before' (1996: 112).

Collaborative events can help people expand their capacities in terms of imagination and what they feel capable of, but the element of visibility might also freeze imagination or desire to participate. Chalk's material conditions of 'easy pliability and erasability' can alleviate this slightly because it does not hold the same expectations of other art materials (Yaneva, 2003: 182). Collaboration contributes to the possibility of this creative capacity expansion, as suggested by one volunteer: *'that person managed to do that with the chalk, what can I do?'*. The prompts of 'draw your favourite animal' inspired passers-by to answer with a quick drawing, layering animals and creatures in the space around this prompt. The two unicorns, one *'white and golden'* and the other *'tiger striped and purple'* took up their space on the pavement, side-by-side. The second, a child's drawing, emerged after the first, demonstrating the statement of being provoked to think '*what can I do?'*. However, within this approach the detrimental effects of temporary urbanism on capacities are also important. Some people walked by, reluctant to participate with the chalk art. I faced my own struggle with imagination, feeling '*jealous'* and *'frustrated'* in comparison to other volunteers. This must go

beyond thinking of bodily limitations, or anxieties as mere 'blockages' to expanding or extending capacities.

**More-than-human capacities: pillars**

Defining materials by their capacities offers a novel approach to the design and development of temporary urbanism events. These could be properties such as smoothness, water retention, changeable states (between solid/liquid/gas), and for this event focusing on the variations in relations between chalk as a material and the pavement underneath. These properties offer a different way of grouping materials in sites that might reveal their potential in aiding or inhibiting particular actions, or enacting a kind of agency completely their own. This speaks to Jacobs and Merriman's (2011) concept of practising architecture by recognizing the agency of various 'practising' bodies involved beyond the human in this case paying specific attention to their capacities. Practically utilising this concept for a research framework centred on temporary urbanism goes beyond conceptually animating architecture.

The pillars on-site offered a surface smoother than the ground, allowing for chalk dust to spread in more consistent lines as it lacked the ground's gravelly skin. This capacity, combined with elevation, contributed to an atmosphere of accessibility around the pillars for participants who may have felt more anxiety, had less time to participate, and so on. The elevation and accessibility also opened the event up for those participants with movement limitations, apprehension to crouch, as well as temporary stiffness or soreness. In relation, these bodies produced an open and collaborative site, helping to constitute a joyful affective encounter to increase a body's power to act. Furthermore, the perpendicularity of the pillar and ground created a gathering space for dirt, litter, moisture, and plant life. This small habitat and its plant life, as will be discussed in the next section, impacted the creative emergence of the event.

**Capacity-thinking's impact on temporary urbanism**

Defining bodies by their capacities rather than identities or demographics can help reconsider sites chosen for temporary urbanism events. Thinking about people not as fitting into discrete categories of identity, but with incremental changes in their bodily capacities, can alter the way research proceeds. This shifts the evaluative process because of the small, incremental, often short-lived changes in a body's capacities. For example, the few minutes of feeling inspired to produce something in chalk or the growing aptitude in controlling each line. For others involved in the chalk art event, the consolidation of acquaintance and friendships led to a greater feeling of confidence in speaking to one another in a group setting. These small increases in capacities, alongside others more imperceptible, become the focus of what the event produces rather than dualistic notions of success or failure. Yet, there is no guarantee

that any body will respond joyfully to the same conditions, even when attention is paid to being open to various capacities. Even though I actively sought a site with an elevated surface to remain accessible to participants who might struggle to reach the floor, there are still imperceptible elements preventing access. As Massumi contends, there is no way to know in advance how different bodies will attune to the same conditions 'since each body will carry a different set of tendencies and capacities, there is no guarantee they will act in unison even if they are cued in concert. However different their eventual actions, all will have unfolded from the same suspense. They will have been attuned – differentially -- to the same interruptive commotion' (2008: 6).

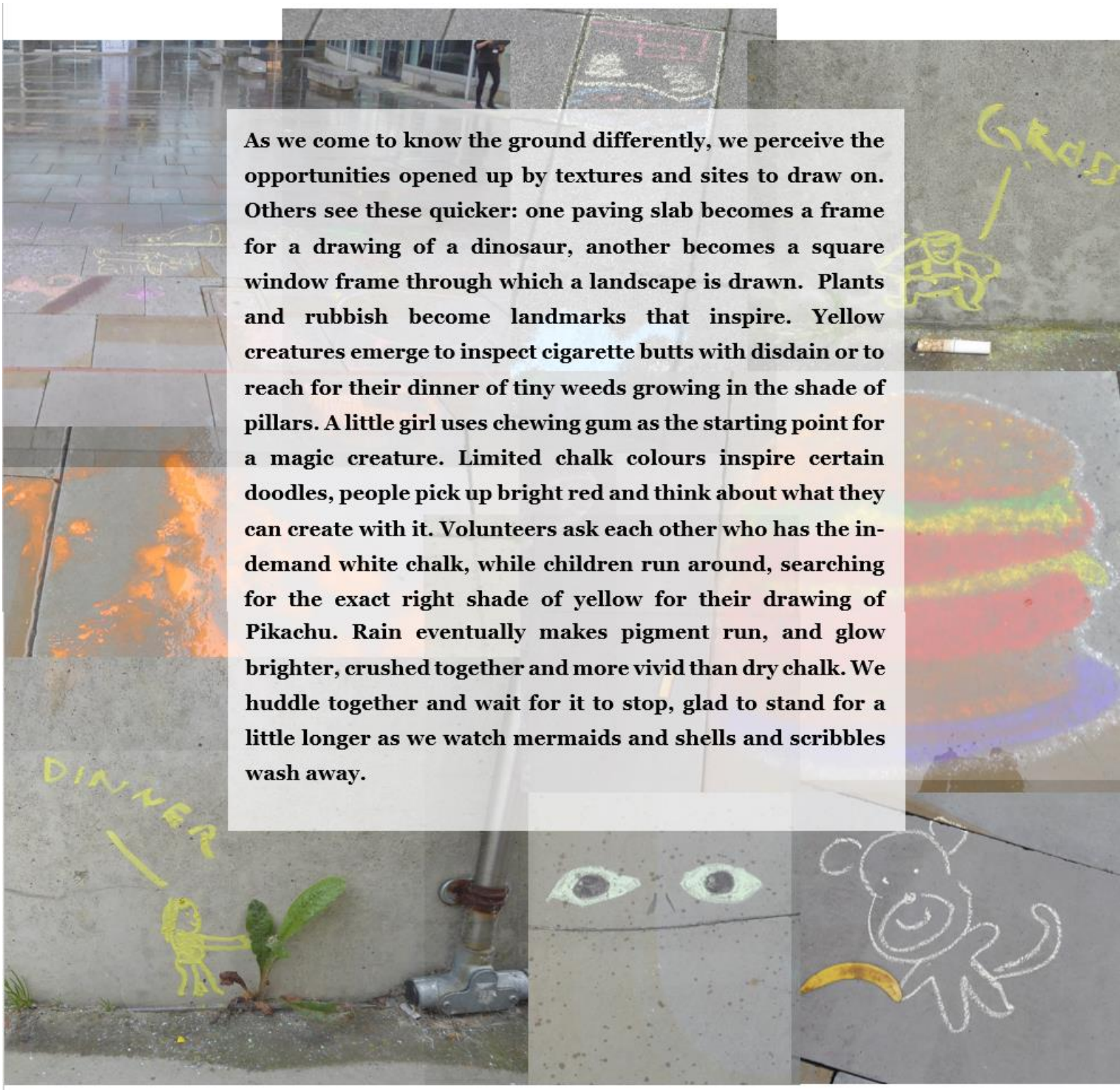
Furthermore, those who do not participate in ways intended by the researcher or practitioner should not be considered as a 'failure' of an event: there are different kinds of participation, such as distant onlookers or engagement with the 'legacy' of an event, which should not be overlooked. These still impact a body's capacity to act. One key example of using capacity-thinking to re-examine temporary urbanism is thinking about gentrification not just as a structural, long-term process but also as a material, relational, 'right-here' negotiated process between bodies (more on this in Chapter 6). A person's power to act may be hindered by their avoidance of a habitual street at the weekend or a slow creep of feeling like a particular neighbourhood is no longer for them; here, the concept of capacities lend a way to reconsider how this diminishment of a body's power can occur long before rents increase, businesses change hands, and districts are redeveloped.

Next, I take this exploration of the intermingled bodies within the site further by examining the assemblage of the chalk art events. This too takes into consideration the affective agency of all kinds of bodies which are entangled in the encounter. Specifically, this explores how this intermingling impacts the unfolding of the event with particular focus on 'becoming art'.

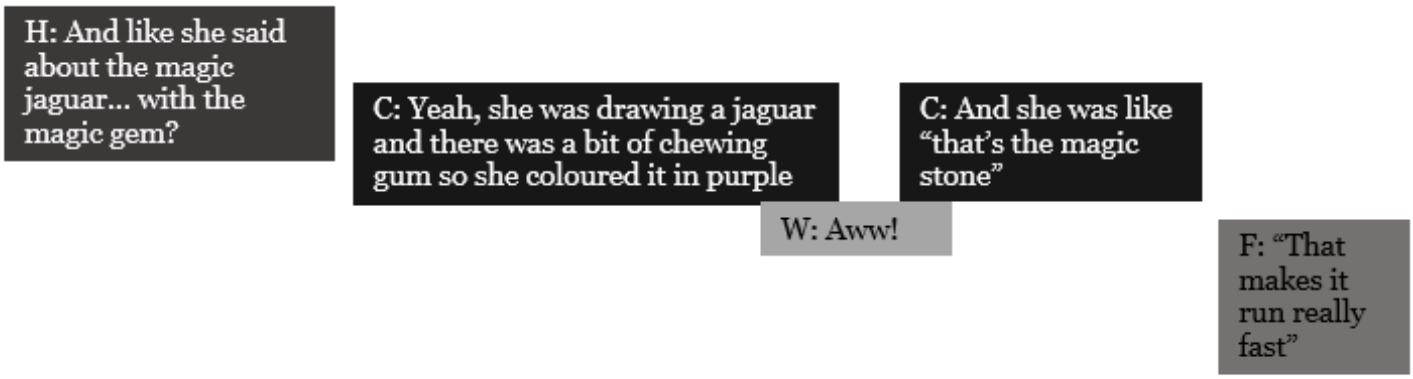
## Becoming-Art and More-Than-Human Creativity

The process of 'becoming-art' (Yaneva, 2003) refers to the negotiated emergence of an artist product between all bodies in an assemblage, not just stemming from a human creator. Material and plant bodies enact their creative agency through sensation as well as by provoking the affective moment of enchantment (Bennett, 2001), a source of imagination. The chalk art-ing was a transaction and collaboration between not just chalk and ground, but a whole host of bodies colliding and pulling apart within the assemblage. Work was inspired and enacted by many of the seemingly 'passive' bodies such as plant life, paving slabs, litter, rain drops, brooms, gum, and dirt. This opens up questions of how to define creativity by destabilizing human exceptionalism and offering potential ways to rethink 'creative'

endeavours in cities ('creative cities', in particular). Here, I relate this back to the assemblage and the implications of using affect.




**As we come to know the ground differently, we perceive the opportunities opened up by textures and sites to draw on. Others see these quicker: one paving slab becomes a frame for a drawing of a dinosaur, another becomes a square window frame through which a landscape is drawn. Plants and rubbish become landmarks that inspire. Yellow creatures emerge to inspect cigarette butts with disdain or to reach for their dinner of tiny weeds growing in the shade of pillars. A little girl uses chewing gum as the starting point for a magic creature. Limited chalk colours inspire certain doodles, people pick up bright red and think about what they can create with it. Volunteers ask each other who has the in-demand white chalk, while children run around, searching for the exact right shade of yellow for their drawing of Pikachu. Rain eventually makes pigment run, and glow brighter, crushed together and more vivid than dry chalk. We huddle together and wait for it to stop, glad to stand for a little longer as we watch mermaids and shells and scribbles wash away.**




**Becoming-art, extending creativity**

Becoming-art extends creative production in two main ways. Firstly, it extends what kind of body counts as playing a role in art. Chewing gum, cigarette butts, and weeds present in the chalk art events may not seem like 'artists', but played an essential role in determining the emergence of the piece. The *'bit of chewing gum'* was transformed into a *'magic stone'*, in turn transforming a drawing of a jaguar into something with a mythical story. Yaneva's concept of 'becoming art' reveals that the chalk art events were collaborative, not just in terms of human collaboration but also including the more-than-human bodies in the space such as chalk, pavement, gum, and various others.

Secondly, it extends *when* counts as a piece of art by acknowledging the continuous change in a creative object. The piece is never really finished, even when rain washes it away. Returning to ideas of reconfiguring dust, in art galleries dust is considered to detract from the artwork, as a visible sign of time passed. It must be routinely removed so art can be presented anew. Cobb and Miller (2010) collected dust from various art galleries around the world, claiming it as a collection on loan belonging to them, so 'the fiber becomes an additive element' (Cobb and Miller, 2010: 289). In chalk art's case, the rain that 'ruined' some pieces drawn on the pavement could also be considered as participating in the 'becoming-art' of the collaborative work and becoming an additive element. Each raindrop possessed an overwhelming amount of creative power by changing the material conditions. It made *'pigment run',* causing the colour of some drawings to *'glow brighter'* and blur together.

**Enchanting creatures**

Building on this, the power of more-than-human bodies in contributing to this collaborative, creative work is significant. The whimsical power of the *'yellow creatures'* that emerged began with a moment of negotiated inspiration and enchantment between volunteer and cigarette butt. This piece of litter had agency and impacted the human imagination. The *'yellow*

*creatures'* especially have a direct link to Bennett's (2001) theory of enchantment as a particular kind of affective relation. With close links to 'thing power', liveliness becomes 'a feature of materiality that exceeds its crystallization into things and is independent of the subject… This excess, or immateriality, cannot be imposed (known), only exposed (felt)' (Woodyer and Geoghegan, 2012: 9). Enchantment cannot be reduced to cognitive decision-making, but is negotiated through the relation between bodies, translated through sensation. As Bennett argues, 'an actant never really acts alone. Its efficacy or agency always depends on the collaboration, cooperation or interactive interference of many bodies and forces' (2010: 21). Bodies are always acting in relation: the assemblage offers a way to think these relations in an abstract and non-quantifiable manner. An enchanted mode of encountering weeds and litter demonstrates the potential of any event to produce joyful affects.

These material bodies' impact on the emergence of the yellow creatures (also including the pavement crack monster and litter-hungry monkey) resituates notions of inspiration, imagination, and creativity when these are theorized as affective and relational. The creative idea came not from one individual, but was sparked through the assemblage. As well as the yellow creatures, volunteers generally found their imagination and ideas flourished through the relation with materialities considered undesirable, such as cracks in the pavement worn over years, gum trodden into the floor, or discarded cigarettes. The durations of these overlapping and intersecting assemblages resonate in so many ways that it is incomprehensible to try and map them into networks of meaning, and therefore the concept of assemblage proves useful in gesturing towards this constellation without ever pinning it down.

**Resituating creativity and 'creative cities'**

As discussed, thinking about more-than-human creativity within the assemblage offers new ways to think about the role of all bodies in the temporary urbanism event. Resituating creativity is vital to retheorizing temporary urbanism events, particularly ones that make use of creative movements, capacities, or sensations. Williams, critically addressing what counts as creativity, argues that 'the conditions of creativity precede cognition, and following this, that these conditions are not reliant on, determined by or necessitated for an anthropomorphic domain' (2016: 7). This relates to the proliferation of 'creative methods' in geography and has links to the admiration of creativity in urban spaces. Critiques asking the questions of what counts as creativity, who is understood as creative, and which political logics different understandings of creativity might serve (Hawkins 2013; 2015; Jeanes, 2006; Marston and De Leeuw, 2013; Williams, 2016) offer a way of resituating how we evaluate these movements in temporary urbanism. This means being attentive to the role of more-than-human bodies in creative acts and, as Williams (2016) points out, understanding that there are many creative

acts that do not stem from an intentional human subject. Resituating creativity in this way means emphasising its links to experimentation, understanding that any act can be creative, and there are many more-than-human bodies participating in what is normally considered a creative, skill-based, subject-led activity.

Jeanes, interrogating what creativity is, asserts 'when we talk about creativity we do so essentially within the context of capitalism' (2006: 130). Temporary urbanism has been utilised as part of the 'creative city' rhetoric, subsumed by a neoliberal agenda that brands a city as creative, smart, or playful. This can be said to possess 'a rather self-congratulatory tendency' (Hollands, 2008: 304). Often, these try and craft the perfect conditions for a creative encounter that can be put to use to boost investment interest, or to portray a city as creative and/or welcoming to 'creatives'. Mould criticises these initiatives, such as the London Borough of Culture competition, and the overall 'creative city' notion as being crafted 'into a narrative that is pushed forward into urban policy [that] is, in effect, creating a logic that politically neutralizes the interventionist and subversive characteristics of said activities' (2014: 532-3). My chalk art events, though not part of a campaign, were enacted and managed in such a way that their radical power is somewhat undermined. The events tried to remain open to however people wanted to participate, yet they did try to craft the conditions to channel a particular kind of creativity by centering mark-making, drawing, and doodling. One problem with focusing on creative expression as needing to be linked to traditional notions of creative acts is this still remains focused on the individual human as the sole producer. By resituating creativity as a relational emergence, creativity can be found in all different kinds of action, movement, and sensation, including ones not considered part of the 'creative city' rhetoric.

Although some urban events that encourage creativity have merit for attempting to break out of the capitalist rhythms of a particular space, there is play and creativity to be found everywhere. This interstitial play exists between the cracks and 'exploits the openness and circumstance of the everyday' (Woodyer, 2012: 320). One participant used chalk to draw a very long line, then ran back and forth along this line without drawing anything else. So, even moving within the milieu of this 'creative' temporary urbanism event, the novel creative act here was imagining this, creating the conditions for it with the chalk, and then the repetitive running back and forth. A similar everyday game of jumping over cracks in pavement has no conditions crafted by temporary urbanism. This links back to Bennett's (2001) concept of enchantment being a particular kind of relation between bodies; the enchantment found in the cigarette butts and litter left on the ground to provoke the birth of the *'yellow creatures'* does not have to exist within the parameters of a temporary event. The suspension of 'normal' habitual behaviour during the chalk art events and the proximity that brought bodies into

different relations with one another did open up the space to experiment with different ways of relating to the world, and that potential is not always encouraged in other urban spaces.

Temporary urbanism events should not be considered as crafting the conditions for creativity to flourish, but perhaps in the defamiliarizing material conditions of the encounter there are opportunities for affective attunement that can allow bodies to increase in their power of acting. Yet this carries with it the potential for the diminishment of capacities too, and thus a decrease in a body's power of acting. Reconfiguring the bodies of temporary urbanism emphasises the affective and sensory relations entangled within each event and examines how bodies are altered through these encounters with others. It emphasises the agency and vitality of more-than-human bodies and their role in creative acts and becoming-art. Moving forward with this consideration of bodies as always in flux, and always becoming, the next chapter explores the ontological terrain of habit. This builds on this chapter's exploration of re-theorizing bodies and examines the micropolitics of temporary urbanism more thoroughly. As Pedwell argues, 'engaging politically through habit demands an open-ended, interdisciplinary, materialist approach' (2017: 27), so the next chapter deals with the political implications of temporary urbanism, examining the contemporary city as a capitalist space and interrogating how this impacts the habits of the bodies entangled in it.

# Chapter 5 – Habits and the Micropolitics of Temporary Urbanism

> 'We start with atomic parts, but these atomic parts have transitions, passages, 'tendencies', which circulate from one to another. These tendencies give rise to *habits*.'
>
> (Deleuze, 1991: x).

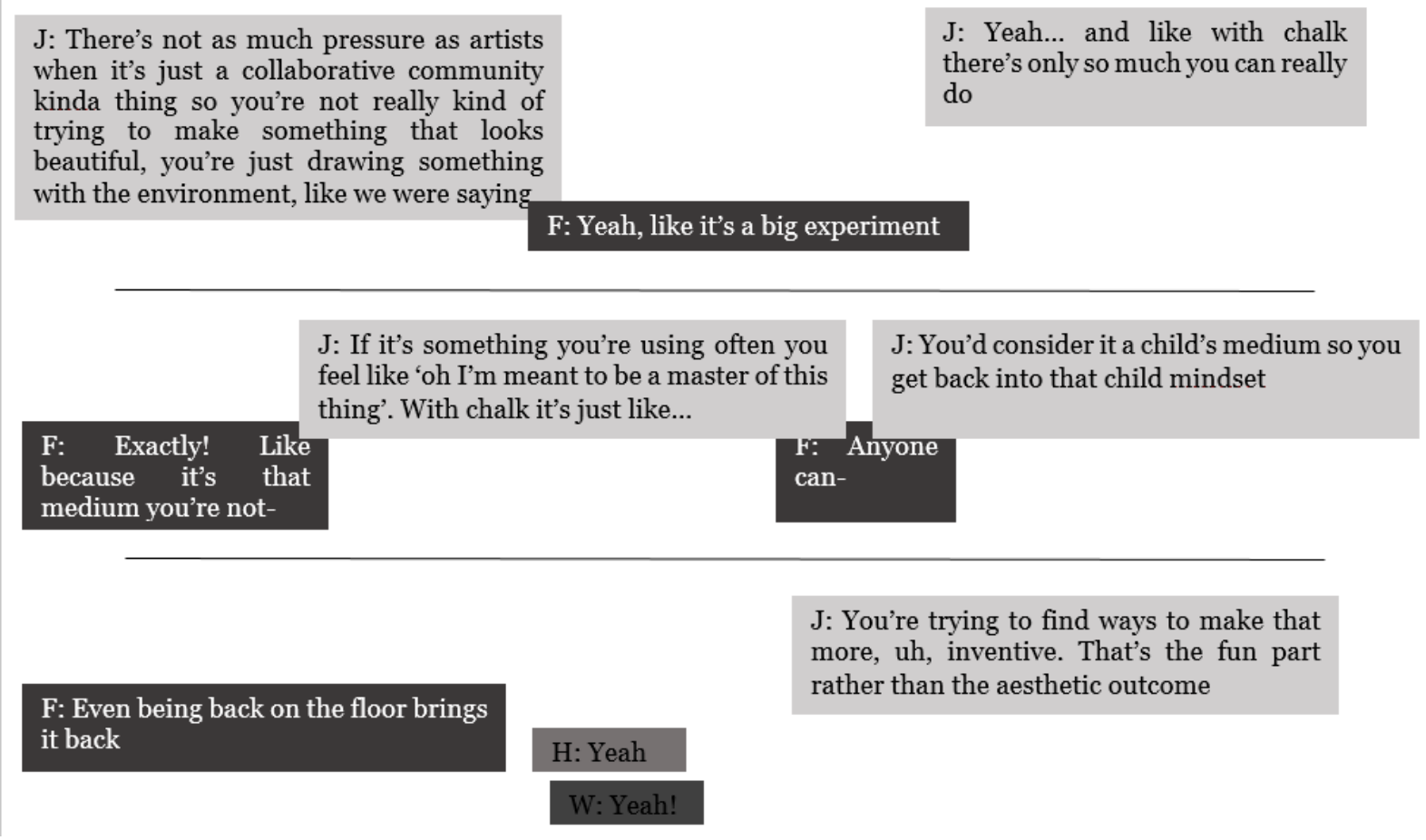
Essential to a Ravaissonian-Deleuzean understanding of habit as a dynamic force is its link to subjectivity, whereby the subject is being constituted through its relations to other bodies in an ongoing process. The continuous process of tendencies giving rise to habits, maintaining them, or eventually morphing a particular habit into something quite different, emphasises the dynamic nature of habit. Openness and experimentation allow tendencies to emerge or to develop into movement and sensation that is, as Ravaisson phrases it, 'gradually easier, quicker and more assured', so it no longer requires cognitive attention (2008: 49). This is significant when considering how the habits of various bodies intersect through affective relations in urban spaces, encouraging or discouraging certain tendencies to develop. Capitalism works most effectively at a pre-cognitive level, forming the conditions for collective subjectivation through tendencies, habits, and eventually subjectivity.

Temporary urbanism's potential is often framed as 'disruption' or as a 'break' from a city's collective habits. Negatively, they can be seen as an exclusionary and profit-driven consolidation of urban capitalism. Using a Ravaissonian-Deleuzean approach to habit to interrogate temporary urbanism allows me to examine why *Temporary Urbanism 1*'s framing might be limited and limiting. In this chapter, I focus on the micropolitical: the intensities or sensations within an encounter that lead to behaviours being channelled in specific ways. Habits form as 'the consequence of a change' (Ravaisson, 2008: 25), yet these changes often occur imperceptibly through sensory and affective relations rather than cognitive processes. By incorporating Deleuze's assertion that there is always difference in itself (1994), this approach can still be used in critiquing the capitalist city as limiting the habits of various bodies, and therefore hindering collective subjectivation through these affective boundaries. As a conceptual tool, 'habit also provides a way of grasping the plasticity of the subject, and thus its openness to transformation' (Lapworth, 2015: 87), whether that be gradual or sudden. In this chapter, I use the Ravaissonian-Deleuzean theorization of habit to re-examine how temporary urbanism events have the potential to shift tendencies or make changes on a micro scale, the difficulties that might be encountered due to anxious and apprehensive habits, and the reterritorialization of temporary urbanism into capitalist logics of machinic subjectivation.

## Disrupting and Transforming Habits

Temporary urbanism can disrupt habits in urban environments, but it is important how this disruption is theorized. As Harris notes in her critique of pop-ups, often temporary urbanism events 'are envisaged as spaces of alterity, disrupting both the rhythms and aesthetics of city spaces by repurposing sites temporarily' (2015: 596). Yet framing temporary urbanism events as disrupting the stultifying habits of the city can be limited and limiting. Moving towards a consideration of how the conditions and relations that emerge through these urban encounters might shift a body's tendencies (eventually transforming habits) changes the framing of disruption. During the chalk art events, certain elements combined to encourage playful experimentation, such as crouching close to the ground, the collaborative element of the art, and chalk's associations as a child's medium. These associations activated virtual domains of the self (Stern, 1985) that formed during early years, as they were never lost. Experience shifted from one of structured, ordered knowledge to one of vital affects and intensities. This activation could be felt as a 'disruption' to everyday habitual experiences, but the term 'transformation' might be more useful. This shift draws attention to the tiny, often imperceptible ways that habits form, shift, and persist, as well as to an understanding of how urban subjectivities are constituted by habitual relations.

*We descend down to the ground: one knee, two knees, all fours as we trace lines over the pavement we've never noticed before, scratchy surface rubbing on fingertips. From down here I glance over at H a few metres away, absorbed in recreating a huge chalky bowl of ramen. Beyond her, a boy writes out sums in golden chalk, his father watching over his shoulder. We stand up from the pavement, slowly, not much grace, aching as our muscles get tired of this repetitive up and down we forgot to stretch for again. Kids bounce around our tired legs, running in search of the perfect coloured chalk and hopping up and down from the pavement with an ease our limbs haven't found yet. A much younger girl wanders through the area and needs no permission or encouragement to pick up a piece of chalk, write her name bold and eye-catching across many slabs, and then draw a huge fish underneath. Another girl lies down on the ground under cover of an awning amidst up-and-down of everyone else, unbothered by the rain and mucky pavement. She draws around the space she takes up, leaving her outline here once she goes. Inspired, W and J take turns to draw around each other lying on the ground. Snow angels. They try to stay still to keep the outline's integrity but laugh, bodies shaking, attempts to lie stationary in the middle of this grey square look silly and wonderful.*




**Vitality affects and habits**

Children participating in the chalk art events needed little or no encouragement to '*draw a huge fish*', run around us and over chalk art *'in search of the perfect coloured chalk'*, or to lay '*down on the ground'*. In a site not coded as a place of stopping, playing, or lying down, and one where we faced difficulties in getting adults involved, children who participated required much less of the same encouragement or assurances that they could join in. Ravaisson states that for habits of action, 'effort diminishes according to the continuity and repetition of movement' (2008: 49). As such, one might theorize that this group of children did not need to try as hard to find playful, creative actions, in comparison to most adults who were more apprehensive.

Linking to Ravaissonian theorizations of habit is Stern's (1985) work on vitality affects and the layered self, found in his research on infants. As he states, vitality affects are 'better captured by dynamic, kinetic terms' (1985: 54). These are the first ways that infants learn to comprehend the world, before any knowledge of objects or senses being activated is formed. This emergent self, developed in the first two months of life and so interconnected with the

experience of vitality affects, is a domain of the self that does not disappear once other faculties are gained. Past domains 'remain forever as distinct forms of experiencing social life and self. None are lost to adult experience' (Stern, 1985: 32). The emergent self is not a phase or a stage to be moved past although it can be elaborated upon and obscured. Gradually, this builds up through a number of developmental stages to verbal capacities, which constitutes a verbal self that is more in tune with narratives, sign systems, and cognitive meaning making. Children, closer in duration to the early senses of self and still getting to grips with the extent of meaning-making through language, might have a closer entanglement with these vitality. Importantly, this realm is not limited to infants and children; it remains essential throughout life. As Stern argues 'all learning and all creative acts begin in the domains of emergent relatedness' (1985: 67).

**Child's medium, child's 'mindset'**

Volunteers suggested that they could *'get back into that child's mindset'* during the events because of the connotation of chalk being a '*child's medium'* as well as crouching on the floor. The notion of a 'return' to a child's mindset might better be understood through the lens of Stern's work, within the ontological framework that the self is always becoming. This is not a return to the past or a summoning out of nowhere, but an activation of the virtual traces of habits that constitute the emergent self, the core self, the subjective self, as they once came to fruition in a person's development. Through engagement with the creative act of chalk art, the domain of emergent relatedness can be activated. Stern emphasises that we are never without vitality affects, and we are able to experience 'an unmeasurable wave of feeling evoked by music' or other art forms that can activate them (1985: 55). These domains of the self, and their habits, are never lost. The potential to experience the world differently and to engage with vitality affects, so focused on 'shapes, intensities, and temporal patterns' rather than 'sights and sounds and touches and nameable objects' (Stern, 1985: 51), always remains possible. Ravaisson's habit 'subsists beyond the change which brought it about' and *remains* for the future, emphasising the virtual aspect of habit (2008: 25). This underlines the open potential that this theorization of habit and the self brings; the enduring possibility to experience the world differently.

The understanding of chalk as a '*child's medium'* refers not just to the association of chalk with school playgrounds, but can be theorized as chalk's affective power. This demonstrates the power of the chalk to act as a body with the capacity to activate this 'summoning' of the emergent self. Those who engaged in the chalk art 'experience[d] a shared intimacy with others (human and nonhuman)' via the affective relations between all kinds of bodies, including the chalks held in the hand and chalk pigment walked over (Woodyer, 2008: 321). Secondly, the physical position of crouching on '*all fours'* to draw exacerbates these

elements of the events and the experimental approach. Proximity to the floor, which is unusual for most adults traversing urban environments, leads to a transformation in habitual relations with the city because of its unfamiliarity. As Woodyer puts it, the 'sensations provoked by the proximity and tactility of shared embodied experience' (2008: 321) are central to this kind of experimental playful event. This element was not as disruptive for participants such as children who are more familiar being closer to the floor due to their size, as they were '*hopping up and down from the pavement'* with greater ease. The activation of past domains of the self, provoked by the sensations of proximity and the affective relations between chalks and humans familiar with them, indicates that habits are negotiated through relations with other bodies. Bissell also emphasises that these habits/selves are never lost and states that 'learned habits are held in reserve until they are demanded by the requirement of a given situation' (2011: np). This aligns with what F noted, that '*even being back on the floor brings it back'*. This creative, experimental, and collaborative situation was key in activating past domains of the self and the habits entangled with them.

As discussed, this notion of mindset is not a logical, cognitive process but a kind of corporeal intelligence rooted in bodily habits, some virtual and awaiting actualization. In the interview, J noted that he experienced a '*return*' to a '*child's mindset'* during the chalk art encounter. His crouching and lying down produced a different way of relating to the city as well as exuding a ludic, playful quality. As Woodyer states, 'through its playing with limits, experimentation with rules, roles and meanings, and mimetic behaviour, playing contains transformative potential' (2012: 322). The mimesis of W and J following the girl's lead and lying down on the pavement to draw outlines around one another is an interesting reversal of the idea that child's play is imitative or 'practice' for adulthood. This playful experimentation and transgression of norms transforms 'the built environment, however briefly, from a place of work, consumption, capitalistic accumulation, into an arena for play, experimentation and body-architecture improvisation; fuelling the ludicity of the city' (Mould, 2016: 10). Thus, activation of the emergent self and comprehending the world through vital affective intensities might itself be considered a disruption to other, often more dominant domains of the self.

**Reframing disruption as transformation of habits**

Even with this understanding of disruption, there might be the image brought to mind of one kind of self 'ending' while the emergent self appears, only to disappear again in the return to normality. Reframing disruption as transformation might prove more helpful. Transformation can occur over a variety of temporal scales, aligned with the idea of a body continually evolving and becoming. As Deleuze argues, 'we are habits, nothing but habits – the habit of saying 'I' (1991: x), so bodies cannot be free from habit, as it underlies everything a body is. The notion of 'disrupting' habits can lean on the outdated theorization of habits as stultifying and limiting,

as if certain encounters could break through this surface to something more idealistic beneath. The idea that underneath normal urban routines there is a utopian, playful freedom is not the case. As Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos argues, 'there is no better place outside… it is all part of an infinite plane of immanence' (in Brighenti, 2013: 100). At times, temporary urbanism is framed as an 'escape' from habitual routine, but this relies on old narratives of habit holding us back (found in Simmel's work as well as post-Kantian apprehensions of habit as a parasitic force). This relies on ideas of instinct, animality, and corporeality standing in the way of rational thought, enlightenment, and freedom. Here, then, assessing the ethics and politics in a Ravaissonian understanding of habit means thinking about how habits can transform in ways that enhance or diminish a body's capacity to act.

Temporary urbanism and its potential 'disruption', or transformation, can be reframed by taking the ontological principle of habit as underlying any notions of subjectivity. This process of subjectivation, understood as constituted through relations with the environment emphasises that 'the mind is not subject; it is subjected' (Deleuze, 1991: 31). This is evident in Stern's work, too, as the domains of the self that are elaborated on during infancy are due to the negotiations between body and world. These are creative acts that result in emerging organization, which 'acts as the source for ongoing affective appraisal of events' (Stern, 1985: 67). Thus, negotiations between body and world develop the subject, rather than the subject existing before it is 'subjected', as Deleuze states. Using this notion of subject-forming, a re-appropriation of urban space through playful experimentation such as the chalk art events could result in 'rediscovering alternative urban subjectivities that would otherwise remain unrealised… [by] finding a new function for this place that has not been designated by the official urban narrative' (Mould, 2016: 14). Significantly, here, the experimentation and playful elements of the chalk art events opened up potential transformations in tendencies, habits, which can all impact the process of becoming-subject.

Rethinking the transformation of habits within a Ravaissonian-Deleuzean approach can extend this notion beyond the idea of habit being a stultifying force that needs to be broken through. This approach recognizes that we can also contract habits through our relations to bodies around us. Lapworth emphasises 'the importance of environmental and situation conditions' constituting the habits of a lived body (2015: 91). Considering the transformation of habits in these terms attends to the nature of habit-forming and becoming-subject as something constituted and relational, as well as continuing to critique the limitations of a body becoming within a capitalist urban environment.

Apprehending the capitalist urban environment as a milieu emphasises its role in constituting the subject within it, as bodies are entangled within it rather than landscape acting as a passive background. As Dewsbury emphasises, 'understanding landscape as a

milieu spotlights how it houses processes of individuation' (2015: 49). Here, in this milieu, subjectivity is constituted through relations with the outside as 'we are not aboard a vessel, ten feet above the water line, but submerged in the water itself' (Serres, 2008: 71). This emphasises the affective, molecular forces that house various processes of becoming-subject. A subject constituted in a capitalist milieu will develop habits that serve capitalism more effectively. Materially, this milieu refers to the spatial conditions of the environment wherein a body exists. Most space is striated and structured: organized by capitalism to serve its logic. But within this there is always smooth space. Conley explains the disruptive power of smooth space by emphasising that it 'haunts and can disrupt the striations of conventional space… that creates shifting mosaics of space-times out of the heterogeneous blocks of different milieus' (in Parr, 2005: 253-4). Through experimental encounters with bodies in urban space, the subject, made of habits, can experiment with alternate tendencies to open up routes to find smooth space. This may not be volatile, sudden, or noticeable but it can build through these kinds of encounters as sensation and movement become more assured. This emphasises that change comes not through will, but bodily forces such as habit, as it 'is a general and permanent way of being' (Ravaisson, 2008: 25).

**Temporary urbanism understood through this reframing of habit disruption**

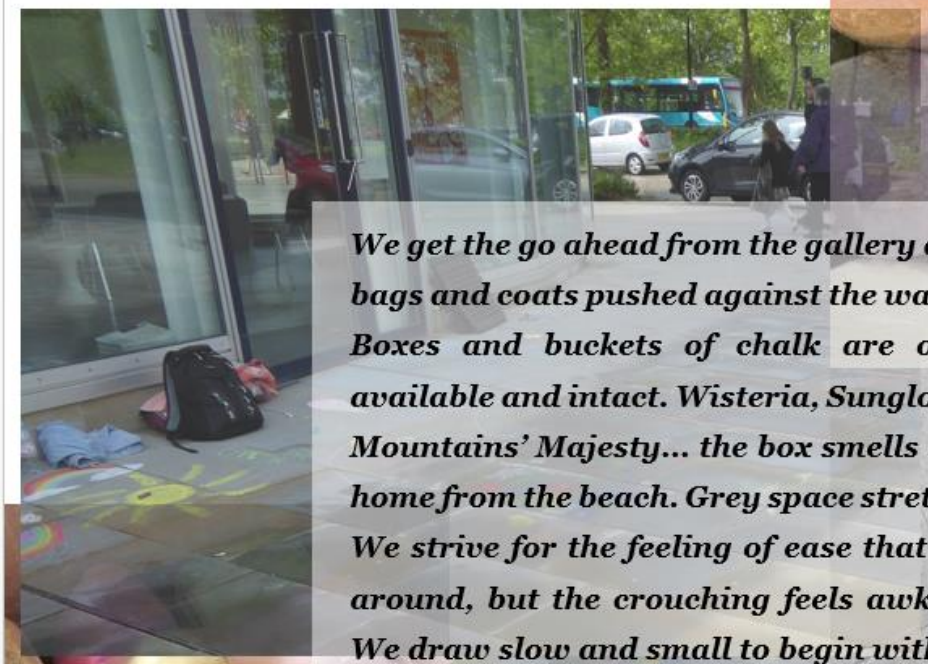
Creative and playful experimentation, therefore, is vital 'not in order to find an 'original' subjectivity, but to open and activate other processes of its production' (Lazzarato, 2010: 93). Temporary urbanism can offer the material conditions for experimentation with perhaps unfamiliar movements or sensations, opening up routes for habituated subjects that may be novel or long-lost. These can be suddenly excavated or slowly chipped away, often at a level that may not even be perceptible. For example, crouching and the *'return to a child's mindset'* might shift one subject to be more in tune with vitality affects and the emergent self, but they may not be aware of any change. Though it is important not to valorise continuous disruption, what should be recognized through stasis and sameness is that habit is still producing these actions and passions. There is always difference in itself, and so to strive for constant shock and rupture of habits through disruption should not be the aim of temporary urbanism. Instead, there should be an attentiveness to small transformations and opportunities for bodies to become in various ways that do not solely serve capitalism in the urban environment.

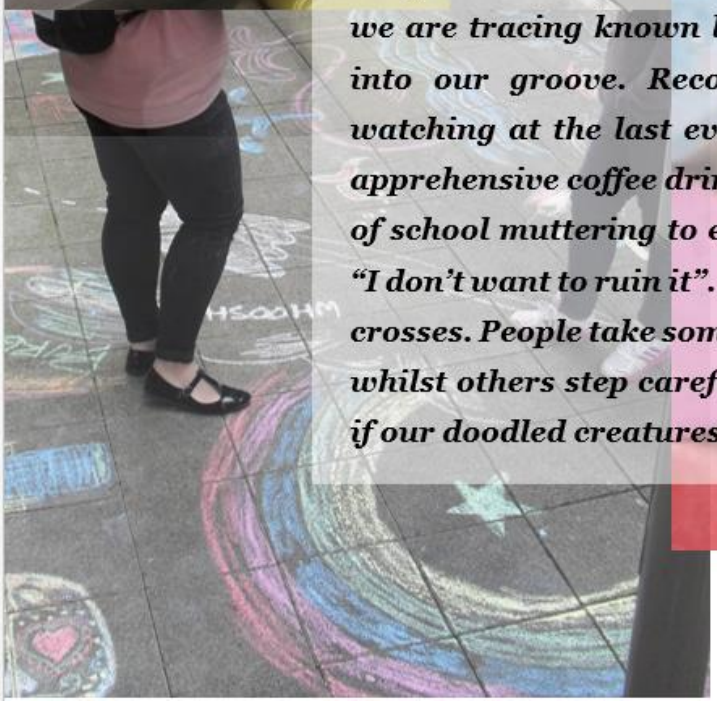
Drawing on the pavement with chalk for five minutes may not seem radical or life-altering, but it does offer novel, unfamiliar, or long forgotten actions and passions to be experimented with, and this has political power. The reactualization of past domains of the self, constituted through creative experimentation, emphasises that there are many varieties of selfhood intermingling. As Stern argues, each of these 'remains fully functioning and active throughout life' (1985: 11), though their associated habits may be virtually contracted within a

body and await reactualization. These collaborative chalk art events speak to Hawkins' call for 'creating events where people could come together differently, potentially transforming themselves through collective creative doings' (2015: 262). In both movement and sensation, these creative and playful events might grow tendencies already part of the body such as mark-making, slowness, stillness, shift in attention, a lift or a dip in the eye line, talking to people, and so on. This is significant as it impacts the directions of becoming-subject in the city through a shift in habits, whether that be the development toward the future or a reactualization of the past as a new collaboration. As Guattari argues, the experimental and open-ended aspect of this kind of creative exploration is imperative as 'one creates new modalities of subjectivity in the same way that an artist creates new forms from the palette' (1995: 7). This is important not just for the 'individual' body, but also has implications for the conditions of collective subjectivation.

## Anxiety and Apprehensive Habits

Augmenting the conditions of the urban environment with temporary urbanism does not just produce joyous moments that can result in creative action and capacity expansion, but can also produce unease, apprehension, anxiety, fear, and displacement. Therefore, the lived actuality of the temporary urbanism event does not always succeed in activating the positive potential of creative experimentation or alternative modes of subjectivation. This was evident in the chalk art-ing events from passers-by saying 'I don't want to ruin it', 'I can't draw', or avoiding eye contact or rushing past. Here, I explore how material conditions play an active role in co-producing apprehension. I also compare approaches to anxious habits, evaluating Simmel's notion of the blasé urbanite with a Ravaissonian outlook on anxiety that is entangled with subjectivity. Examining the micropolitics of how those anxious and apprehensive moments function during the encounter impacts the design, enactment, and evaluation of temporary urbanism.





*We get the go ahead from the gallery assistant to begin, our bags and coats pushed against the wall of the visitor centre. Boxes and buckets of chalk are opened, every colour available and intact. Wisteria, Sunglow, Mahogany, Purple Mountains' Majesty... the box smells like seashells brought home from the beach. Grey space stretches out in front of us. We strive for the feeling of ease that we had the first time around, but the crouching feels awkward and dirty now. We draw slow and small to begin with, and I have a knot in my stomach about this being 'art enough' to warrant its existence outside the gallery. Someone rides past on their bike, shouts something at us about us being sexy and we all squirm internally, throwing each other knowing looks and sighs. I feel open, exposed. I know we'll have to cover a wide space before anybody walking by feels comfortable to get involved at the edges. We offer a boy and his mother a packet of chalk to join in, but they decline and sit to watch us spread the chalk out in different parts of the space as if we are tracing known lines and not just scrabbling to get into our groove. Recollections of people standing and watching at the last event come back to me, nervous and apprehensive coffee drinkers and estate agents straight out of school muttering to each other. "I can't draw" they say. "I don't want to ruin it". Later they play chalky noughts and crosses. People take some convincing to get down and draw, whilst others step carefully over the coloured pavement as if our doodled creatures would be crushed to death by feet.*

**Apprehensive habits and materiality**

If temporary urbanism's potential is to 'invite strangers to suspend their conditioned habits and rethink the possibilities for their use of space' (Bishop and Williams, 2012: 96), and open up the potential for creative, joyful affective encounters that reveal a new way of interacting with the city, then moments of apprehension demonstrate that this invitation is not always easily accepted. "I can't draw". "I don't want to ruin it". "I'm no good at drawing". Phrases such as these were spoken throughout the chalk art events by passers-by who showed interest in what was going on, yet declined to contribute their own piece when this was suggested. There can be various apprehensive struggles involved in temporary urbanism's attempt to transform habitual modes of relating to the city. But, importantly, this is not because habit is a deadening force that limits people from doing what they want to. It may be that, as Ravaisson states, 'habit leads voluntary movements to the same state [of imperceptibility as instinct], transforming them into instincts' (2008: 67). Apprehension emerging during these encounters may feel instinctive or natural. What remains with a Ravaissonian understanding of habit is that these imperceptible contractions of the past do not limit bodies or hold them back.

Furthermore, the 'stickiness' of habit is not a negative that should be disrupted at every opportunity. Reconfiguring habit within this approach emphasises continuous change and dynamism, but often this can appear as stasis as changes happen at an imperceptible level. It is important to recognize, as Grosz states, that 'habit is a way in which we can organize lived regularities, moments of cohesion and repetition, in a universe in which nothing truly repeats, in which the past accumulates with unrelenting force' (2013: 219). Cohesion and regularity allow the conscious, thinking brain to process other things as habitual movement and sensation become unconscious. But when faced with suddenly altered spatial conditions, this dissonance can produce apprehension in the body, rather than a feeling of excitement or freedom. Even pausing can be a complex action in a city that communicates efficiency, productivity, and most likely will not encourage pausing unless linked to tourism or capital. Additionally, if a habit is constituted within this urban capitalist milieu, then a body has 'a tendency to persist in being' (Malabou and Sinclair in Ravaisson, 2008: 80). As such, pausing in a street may produce a sense of inertia in the subject. Overcoming this inertia might be closely entangled with apprehension.

Whether habits drive us forward or produce inertia does not mean habits are holding us back. As Middleton states, 'as opposed to reductive conceptualisations of habitual behaviour within transport research, whereby habit is positioned as an obstructive, external force driving individual behaviour, attention has been drawn to the fact that habit needs to be understood as situated in the processual and unfolding action of journeys on foot' (2011:

2872). What Middleton (2011) emphasises for this pedestrian context is what Grosz (2013) argues about the character of habit: that the cohesive and continuous impression habit makes for the subject frees up the conscious brain for other things. This sense of autopilot is not something to be overcome, disrupted, or broken through every time. Instead, considering autopilot as processual means recognizing the agency of objects involved in producing apprehension:

> 'Although material objects (such as footwear, clothing, mobile technologies, luggage, and the transportation of personal effects), could be considered mundane features of everyday life they really do matter in the everyday experiences of urban pedestrians. These are all items that have the potential to 'equip' or 'encumber' pedestrian practices that in turn strongly relate to the ease within which habitual behaviour emerges and is sustained.'
>
> (Middleton, 2011: 2874)

Thus, when the material conditions of 'autopilot' habits are augmented by temporary urbanism, it is not a given that conditioned habits will be suspended in favour of another action. The passer-by may be encumbered by this change (as they might be by a particularly heavy bag, a rainy day that soaks through their shoes, a diverted path due to roadworks, or any other kind of material element). Perhaps this will be shrugged off and the walk will be continued. Perhaps there will be a moment taken to adapt, '*standing and watching'* the event. These are valid and important responses to temporary urbanism. This demonstrates that the notion of habit progressing might be better understood as 'a non-teleological vision of progress focused on the ongoing enhancement of embodied significance and cooperative bodily-environmental functioning, rather than achievement of already known endpoints' (Pedwell, 2017: 25). What is interesting about temporary urbanism events is not the percentage of people who interact with the event, 'suspending their conditioned habits' as Bishop and Williams (2012) would claim. Instead, rather than what has been strictly planned, the event is constituted by all bodies and their many entanglements with these particular conditions. As de Certeau states, 'the street geometrically defined by urban planning is transformed into a space by walkers', and so the temporary urbanism event is transformed by various passers-by, including those who do not participate (1988: 117).

Finally, apprehension also comes from those enacting the event. The apprehension and nervousness of the volunteers and myself in the chalk art events speaks directly to material elements that emphasise the built environment's impact on how things unfold. Firstly, the larger and more open space of the second site produced apprehension and anxiety for myself and the volunteers, too. There was a feeling of exposure, a fear of performance, and a longing for an ease of movement. This apprehension was constituted not through a feeling

of dissonance, but through the affective relations between bodies. Secondly, as well as the space that stretched out in front of us, the smell of '*seashells brought back from the beach*' and feel of plastic skin on chalks all communicated 'new'. This emphasises that 'the capacity of these bodies… included the ability to make things happen, to produce effects' (Bennett, 2010: 5). What was produced through the sensory and affective relations of the smell of the box and the feel of the plastic was apprehension, exacerbated by the grey space of the square.

**Anxious habits and subjectivity**

Temporary urbanism events can produce more than just apprehension. They can constitute the production of anxiety, fear, or displacement. Anxiety, as well as a diagnosis that refers to several disorders, has been called an 'ambient fear… that saturates the social spaces of everyday life' (Hubbard, 2003: 52). The notion of anxious ambience emphasises its production through atmospheric relations, through which it can become deep-rooted in bodies via the mechanisms of habit. Tendencies build to become habitual ways of moving through and sensing the world. Although habits are always and continually negotiated through the affective relations of a space, 'practices repeated over and over sculpt bodily capacities for action in particular ways such that those practices become increasingly perfected and refined' (Bissell, 2011: np). Even the practice of anxiety shapes a body over time, moulding the subject in a particular way.

The city provides a specific context for anxious tendencies to progress into practiced habits. One understanding of the impact of urban space on the subject is evident in Simmel's 'The Metropolis and Mental Life' (1903), which famously emphasises that the fast pace and sensory overload on the city results in an overwhelmed subject. To protect their psychic integrity from this bombardment, urbanites develop a shielding blasé outlook as they have an 'incapacity to react to new stimulations' (Simmel, 1903 in 2002: 14). Borch works through Simmel's understanding, emphasising that in his argument it is the overstimulation of the urban environment that leads to a blasé attitude, yet this combines with 'a reserve to other people, which is itself based on an underlying fear of being touched physically… producing anxiety' (2010: np). This emphasises proximity and the fear of close sensory contact as key to constituting urban anxiety. The conditions of temporary urbanism are a 'new stimulation' that people are unable to react to, so it becomes easier to ignore the changes that these events introduce. This can become habitual. Simmel directly contrasts the city against rural spaces, stating that in small villages and towns 'the rhythm of life and sensory mental imagery flows more slowly, more habitually, and more evenly.' (1903 in 2002: 12). Simmel emphasises that the speed of change and inconsistency in the city is what leads to anxiety, in opposition to what he perceives as the slow rhythms of the small town.

But, Simmel's view of anxiety is limiting, despite its emphasis on how the subject transforms through relations with the built environment. Firstly, if urban anxiety emerges out of a fear of being touched by others, this ignores many other sensory and affective relations. Smell, sound, and sight have all been noted as proximal forces (see Henshaw, 2014 on the penetrating force of smell; Schafer, 2005 for the emphasis that we cannot close our ears; Paterson, 2006; 2016 on the intertwined relationship of sight and touch as knowledge-making). Therefore, the notion of fearing haptic interactions alone is too simplistic. Secondly, Simmel crafts a dichotomy between city spaces and rural spaces, romanticising the small town way of life in a way that is not relevant to a world where 'the urbanization process has become a global condition rather than simply a 'way of life' that is confined to certain types of settlement space as opposed to others' (Brenner and Schmid, 2014: 747). This also ignores the production of anxiety in these areas, as well as the multitude of bodies and proximal relations that occur in rural environments. They are not 'empty' in opposition to a city as 'full', nor are they stable and peaceful as Simmel envisions. Furthermore, unexpected events that create new stimulations for people to adapt to as well as the multitude of difference always being produced in every single encounter still occur in what Simmel frames as rural space. Thirdly, Simmel situates habit as deadening force or coping mechanism in a way that configures the subject as having a true form that is inhibited or encouraged by certain things.

Ravaisson provides another way to rethink how anxious habits are constituted in the urban environment and why the 'blasé outlook' and avoidance that Simmel noted might emerge. The production of anxiety through relations between bodies detracts from a body's power to act. Anxiety itself can become a habit, not a stultifying layer on top of other habits that prevents them being enacted, but something that roots into both movement and sensation, to use Ravaisson's terms. This can lead to choosing the 'safe' option of avoidance, evident in the avoidance of temporary urbanism events. As Malabou puts it, 'by following the progression of habit, we see this desire developing, more and more, through continuity and repetition' (in Ravaisson, 2008: 105). Anxious habits become desired; a desire not based in the will or consciousness but bodily desire.

Anxiety, as a form of corporeal adaptation, runs deeper than the fear of future haptic contact, conscious or not. Returning to the concept of affect in Spinoza, the durational element of anxiety can be explained, in part because 'man is affected with the same affect of joy or sadness from the image of a past or future thing as from the image of a present thing' (Spinoza, 1996: 80). So, an anticipated emergence of something fear-producing, via anxiety, can produce the same affective intensity of sadness (as the diminishment of a body's capacity to act) as the present encounter. As Nony contends, 'anxiety becomes a moment in which the present loses its actuality by flattening the past and the future into one blended landscape in

which the individual attempts to flee from the lack of dense experience' (2017: 107). Through anxiety, the virtual diminishes the power of acting. Yet, the perception of this within the body might be a feeling of the power to act staying the same or even of increasing power: If I don't engage with those relations, those conditions, then my power to act does not seem to be diminished by what could be. But, importantly, the power to act is not increased by this: subjectivation only occurs in relation to other conditions. Without the experimentation with alternate conditions then many potential routes for subjectivity remain closed off. Anxiety shrinks the subject. Yet, the milieu that shapes the development of anxious habits is a capitalist environment. Thus, Nony emphasises that more attention should be paid to 'the toxicity that is being produced by platforms that have less and less to do with openness and more with pre-emptive control over people's behaviour' (2017: 109), drawing attention to the role of capitalist subjectivation in the production of anxious ambience.

**Reframing temporary urbanism with apprehension and anxiety**

Considering how apprehensive and anxious habits might be encouraged by temporary urbanism events impacts how they should be designed, developed, and enacted. There are two key elements to remaining attentive to potential sad affects. Firstly, making material decisions that avoid aiding the production of sad affects that might limit a body's capacity to act, in that moment or beyond the 'temporary', or that might lead to the formation or maintenance of habits that negatively impact the subject. Secondly, recognizing that interruption and instability should not be strived for in every body at the expense of relative stability and consistency.

Material conditions that avoid producing negative affects are key to the design of temporary urbanism events that offer the opportunity for experimentation, creativity, a way of acting otherwise, but do not force that upon people. This would include decisions about the site chosen to enact the event in: it should have space to move around the event without having to involve oneself or take a detour. Our first event did not succeed in this as people '*step[ped] carefully over our doodled creatures as if they would be crushed to death by feet*'. Another important material choice to make is how to communicate openness or participation without producing negative affects: not directly approaching those far away, not telling them what to do but offering, and not asking those uninterested in the chalk art event or displaying anxious behaviours. Gardner (2016) also suggests using words such as 'doodle' instead of 'draw' to avoid provoking responses of worry about skill, which we encountered with 'I can't draw'. This also shifts the evaluative process as this creative experimentation may not be the only way to suspend conditioned habits. Even pausing to observe what had already been drawn led to a slowing down, perhaps a small joyful interaction that would not have gone

ahead without this event occurring. Even if the 'participant' did not draw, like the mother and son who sat on a nearby bench to watch the drawing, they still impacted the event.

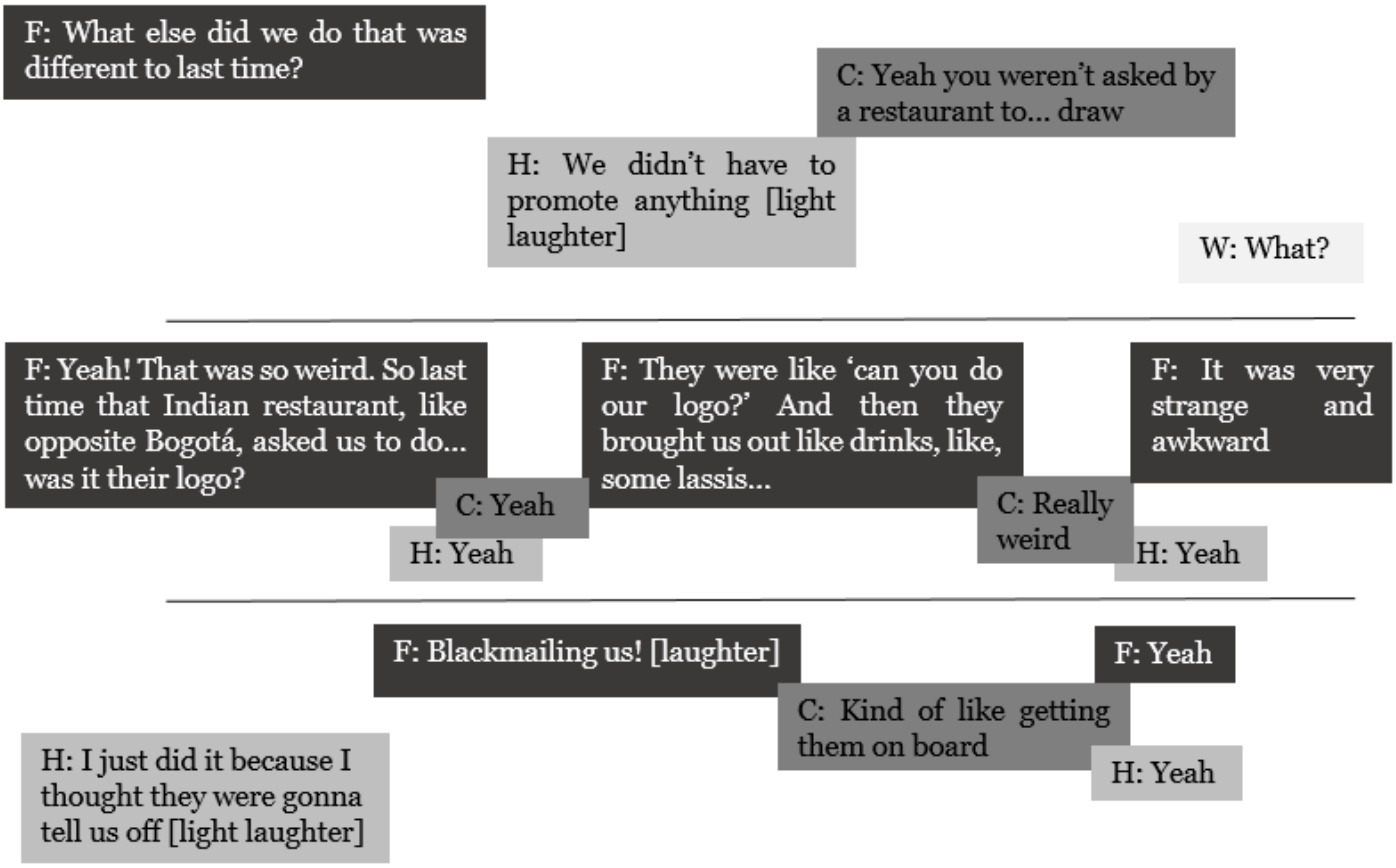
Resituating temporary urbanism like this involves a recognition of habit as an ontological force that is not a deadening or mechanising force, but something that adjusts in minute and molecular ways. There is always difference in itself, and these small adjustments matter. Often, forcing bodies into suddenly changed, intense sensory environments and material conditions can produce not only apprehension but negative, anxious affects that lead to feelings of not being catered to, of the city being for others, of being overwhelmed or held up or life made difficult for. As Dewsbury argues, 'most of the time our actions do not correspond to a seismic enough shift in our habits to be immediately perceptible. However, these minute inclinations, the increasingly effortless push of habit as actions are repeated, do hit thresholds upon which it becomes clear that a transformation in skill, behaviour and competency has been achieved' (2015: 39). Recognizing tiny joyful transformations in habit, whilst accepting that these 'minute inclinations' may be beyond human perception, should be an aim for temporary urbanism rather than large-scale, quantifiable evidence of 'disruption'. Tiny alterations can have substantial ripples through a body's life, building tendencies and potentially, eventually, transforming habitual relations within a city.

## Capitalist Habits and the Co-option of Temporary Urbanism

The tendencies and habits of subjects can be activated, discouraged, or cut off by capitalist urban conditions of striated space, 'which intertwines fixed and variable elements produces an order and succession of distinct forms, organizes horizontal melodic lines and vertical harmonic planes' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987: 478). Yet, smooth space still exists on the interstice, providing space and time for experimentation and lines of flight. These escape from capitalist processes of subjectivation through various actions, even if only momentarily before recapture. Temporary urbanism and participatory creative events offer the material conditions for lines of flight to take off en masse, but within the milieu of a space that appears public but functions in a private, striated way, these can easily be recaptured and put to work in machinic capitalist processes. As such, the tendencies and habits that may have once been an escape from capitalist habit production and maintenance, are subsumed back into that same logic from which an escape was sought. Thus, the co-option of temporary urbanism speaks not only to larger global trends, but also to the micro relations through which bodies produce habits. Purcell emphasises this by stating that 'the usual fate of deterritorialized elements pursuing a line of flight is that they are recaptured and reterritorialized in an apparatus' (2013: 26). As such, the radical potential of temporary urbanism to interrupt

habits and to produce alternative modes of subjectivation might be limited within the conditions of public-becoming-private space.


***F, H, and I are beckoned over by the restaurant opposite our friendly and hip coffee shop. We approach with hesitation, worried that they are unhappy with where we have been drawing near their site. Are they going to ask us to stop drawing? I think about the emails of permission from the site's security team that I have printed out that sit at the bottom of my bag, wondering if I'll have to prove our legitimacy here. Instead, they ask us to draw their logo as part of the chalk art event. We are filled with a sense of unease that I read it on F's face: a little taken aback, always personable. She and H do what has been asked, swiftly so they can get back to some kind of freedom in what they draw, and a few minutes we are rewarded with free drinks from their new menu. They are deliciously cold. In the same hour a man asks if we are taking tips or donations for our chalk art - I have to tell him that no, we are doing it for a creative research project. I am baffled by the idea of somebody giving us money for this, but months later on a visit back to Milton Keynes P from the coffee shop tells me that site security believe that it was a campaign the coffee shop paid for to promote themselves.***




**The milieu of public-becoming-private space**

Temporary urbanism's milieu appears to be public space. Yet, increasingly, what seems to be public space is controlled by private interests. As such, it operates with a different kind of logic, shifting the characteristics of the milieu that temporary urbanism functions within. This shift has happened concurrently with a change in the nature of temporary urbanism events: 'through political co-option and the desire for a creative or 'cool' urban aesthetic… these activities are being 'conquered' or subsumed into the wider process of urban capitalism (despite being predicated on a reaction against it)' (Mould, 2014: 532). With the shift towards private space dominating the urban environment, more enactments of temporary urbanism are playing into the capitalist logic and/or being recaptured by such forces. This limits the radical potential of temporary urbanism as its material conditions are contained within a capitalist assemblage of bodies. Such conditions constitute how habits form, maintain, and deploy, impacting the process of subjectivation. As Spataro notes, 'this "clampdown" on the openness of public space highlights the nature of public space as a form of property that functions within the context of capitalist private property regimes' (2015: 7). This clampdown

extends from conditions of public-becoming-private space across habits and subjectivity. The first site of the chalk art events seemed to be a public walkway but was owned by a site security management company, from whom I had to seek *'emails of permission'*. Later, I was informed that they believed the event to be a paid-for, promotional event for the coffee shop.

Increasingly, public space is privatized and commodified as well as being militarized and securitized against certain actions. For example, clearing the homeless out of a public park or not installing benches that could be places to sleep. Using hostile architecture to control these actions through the material conditions of the city prevents the development of habits (Petty, 2016). From this, public space ideals, evident in Lefebvrian notions of the 'right to the city', are being reterritorialized by capitalist, striated space. Lefebvre's notion of the 'beach beneath the paving stones' is no longer as easy to access, as even the beach is under surveillance and sly control. This limits the material conditions that constitute habits and, therefore, subjects. Some actions might appear to be 'lines of flight', to use Deleuze and Guattari's concept that suggests changes that momentarily leak out from capitalism. These 'are to do with experimentation – with invention and innovation – and thus also with the overcoming of limits and boundaries. More generally they imply a move out of a given territory', but are quickly subsumed back into capitalism and put to use by it (O'Sullivan, S. 2016: 208). This is a complex and layered process when it comes to moments of urban experimentation and creation, evidenced in the recapture and deployment of graffiti-chic as a tool to make money (recent examples, either street campaigns or in-print ads, including Adidas, Converse, Ikea, Netflix, and Volkswagen); 'the co-option of this apparently transgressive practice' (Schacter, 2014: np). Meanwhile, practitioners still face prosecution for graffiti as it is considered to damage private property. Capitalism is full of these contradictions as it hastens to break apart and reorganize social and economic life. Yet, the smooth space that allows lines of flight to leak out of the capitalist territory still exists, even in public spaces full of surveillance, strict and explicit rules, and the implicit tendencies communicated through affective relations between bodies. Smooth space exists in the interstice, moments or movements that deterritorialize, so there is always the potential for going beyond the capitalist striation, in both space and subjectivity.

**Deterritorializing and reterritorializing habits**

Even without temporary urbanism events, the difference found in momentary everyday encounters with the city can be a line of flight. Stevens points out that 'the scope of everyday life in urban spaces is never completely subordinated to the achievement of predefined, rational objectives… Urban public spaces offer a richness of experiences and possibilities for action' (2007: 1). This interstice always exists, whether it be temporal or spatial, and whether it takes place in urban space or within subjectivity. Brighenti argues that the 'interstice *cannot*

*be known in advance:* the interstice is not simply a physical place, but very much a phenomenon 'on the ground', a 'happening', a 'combination' or an 'encounter'' (2013: xvii). If habit is a space that provides continuum, then these interstices are also held within habit as the potential to act or sense the world differently. Habit interstices are moments of difference or experimentation that progress towards, or strengthen, alternate tendencies. This may not be perceived as many impacts of events are affective. Stevens (2007) argues that playful uses of urban spaces reveal this interstice to us; they are often overlooked because they are not efficient or practical but they can express people's needs beyond the functional parts of city spaces. This might refer to deterritorializing acts that veer outside of capitalism, even if just for a moment.

Public art and the playful use of cities can be considered as a deterritorialization of striated habits that provide the material conditions for lines of flight to flourish and momentarily escape from capitalism. Iveson notes that some DIY urbanism events 'certainly point to the alternative possibilities of public space… [and] such practices do contest the power of authorities to dictate the uses of urban space, and their radical potential is evidenced by the extraordinary lengths that urban authorities go to in order to shut them down' (2013: 954). In this contestation of power against the dictation, or striation, of what urban space 'should' contain, such events demonstrate the potential of intensive, intentionally temporary experimentation with material conditions. Lapworth argues that 'if art encounters are able to interrupt habits, then it is because they impact directly on the compositional and affective forces of the body' (2015: 92). The affective power of art in the urban environment has the potential to interrupt and augment the habitual modes of relating to the city, but capitalism can seize upon this interruption. Therefore, creative temporary events like chalk art-ing can contribute to the machinic processes of capitalist urban environments through affect, impacting tendencies, habits, and subjectivity.

Holloway, discussing the power of reterritorializing forces as they reclaim the interstice, asks whether capitalism is 'a slimy sludge that, when we try to crack it, just oozes back into place, as nasty and complete as ever?' (2010: 12). This emphasises that the process of deterritorialization and reterritorialization is essential to the function of capitalism, which itself began as a deterritorialization. Purcell maintains that 'flexibility is essential for the capitalist axiomatic because it deterritorializes as part of its normal operation… [capitalism functions] by breaking apart established routines and structures and mobilizing the freed-up elements into new regimes of accumulation' (2013: 31). The subsummation of elements back into capitalism occurs on the micro level, in encounters such as the chalk art events. Although this was not a particularly radical act to take place in public-becoming-private space, being asked to draw a restaurant's logo was a blatant example of the deployment of capitalist logic.

These forces reterritorialize the subject and subsume tendencies that reach beyond these structures. An experimental, open-ended event is faced with the request from the restaurant *'to draw their logo as part of the chalk art event'*, as well as the question of whether '*we are taking tips or donations'*. This left volunteers with feelings of *'unease', 'awkward'*-ness, and even '*like they were blackmailing us'*. But, often, reterritorialization by capitalist forces is much more covert than a request from a nearby business or the offering of money, because it acts most effectively on a precognitive and social level.

Global capitalism seizes upon these encounters by aestheticizing everyday life, but 'this need not make their force as aesthetic encounters redundant' (Hynes, 2013: 1940). It is not the act that is the line of flight, but what is produced by the act. Through the affective relations, actions, habits, and modes of subjectivity that can all be experimented with in creative urban encounters, the potential for those lines of flight to impact bodies exists alongside capitalist striation. Capitalist control of public-becoming-private space may not be overcome by 'escaping' it via actions that challenge it, because capitalism's inherent machinic functioning means this will be recaptured in one way or another. Even when volunteers returned to having '*some kind of freedom in what they draw*' after the restaurant's request, they are not overcoming the control of the space. What is important to the evaluation of temporary urbanism in public-becoming-private space is not arguing whether something was radical enough, or was tainted by capitalism in any way, but how this impacts the tendencies and habits of bodies involved. As Lazzarato argues, 'political action must construct and invent tools and procedures of experimentation, research, and intervention aimed first of all at the production of subjectivity rather than at the economic, the social, or the linguistic' (2010: 219). It is easy to look at acts and recognize them as already reterritorialized, but the impacts left upon subjects might lead to more lines of flights through various other acts, sensations, or thoughts.

**Subjectivation in public-becoming-private space**

Lazzarato argues that 'the weakness of capitalism lies in the production of subjectivity': it is in the process of becoming-subject that interstitial smooth space can be found (2010: 8). Subjectivity is negotiated through everyday habits and forged by relations, and in urban space this means the political potential of all kinds of tiny acts can be radical lines of flight that gain momentum over time, even if they do not seem radical. Amin states that 'public space, if organized properly, offers the potential for social communion by allowing us to lift our gaze from the daily grind, and as a result, increase our disposition towards the other' (2008: 6). I do not mean this in a utopian, Lefebvrian democratic way, and Amin is careful not to claim this either. What is emphasised here is the potential for public space to alter the process of subjectivation, leading towards an alternative 'disposition', understood as a habitual and

affective capacity that relates to other bodies in the urban environment. Drawing on the pavement is not 'reclaiming' that pavement for the people, nor is it beyond the designifying systems of capitalism: it is entangled in them as the milieu for any action is a capitalist one. But, as Guattari points out, behind all the stability and structural power that capitalism seems to show, there are 'unforeseeable lines of flight that threaten it from the inside, will not stop appearing' (2015: 33).

Therefore, temporary urbanism can still have the potential for opening up the material conditions and interstitial space required for experimentation. Temporary urbanism can never claim to be outside of capitalist logic: there is no outside to this contemporary milieu. Lazzarato argues that in order to find the interstice, one must 'force ruptures in public space' (2010: 142). The spaces of urban everyday life, like the pavement, become essential to this. A rupture in public space does not always mean something hugely memorable, perceptibly impactful, or radical. Low and Iveson add that 'small-scale acts of kindness and activities of repair such as picking up trash or adding flowers to a public space… contribute to a sense of well-being and enable other forms of justice and recognition to flourish' (2016: 21). The impact of these ruptures, no matter how small or whimsical, can transform the habitual relations held between bodies. That is the micropolitical power of temporary urbanism. It is not always the act that is radical and momentarily escapes from capitalism as a line of flight, but the imperceptible changes left on the relations between and within subjects. The process of subjectivation relies upon these tendencies and habits.

Temporary urbanism is never outside of capitalism. However, along with many other creative acts conceptualized as an emergence, it can act as a line of flight that augments the tendencies and habits of bodies. Through creativity and play, these chalk art events reactivated a past sense of self and the associated habits, transforming the relations between bodies in urban space. Alternatively, temporary urbanism might activate apprehensive and anxious habits, and as such can diminish a body's power to act. The conditions of temporary urbanism events like this leave traces on the capacities, tendencies, or habits of a subject, whether these increase or decrease a body's power to act. Essential to this, then, is considering how to understand the durations through which these changes might occur. In the next section I emphasise that temporary urbanism events, despite being intentionally short, leave traces through various temporal layers in the city.

# Chapter 6 – Evaluating the Durations of 'Temporary' Urbanism

'Even if the material lasts for only a few seconds it will give sensation the power to exist and be preserved in itself in the eternity that coexists with this short duration'

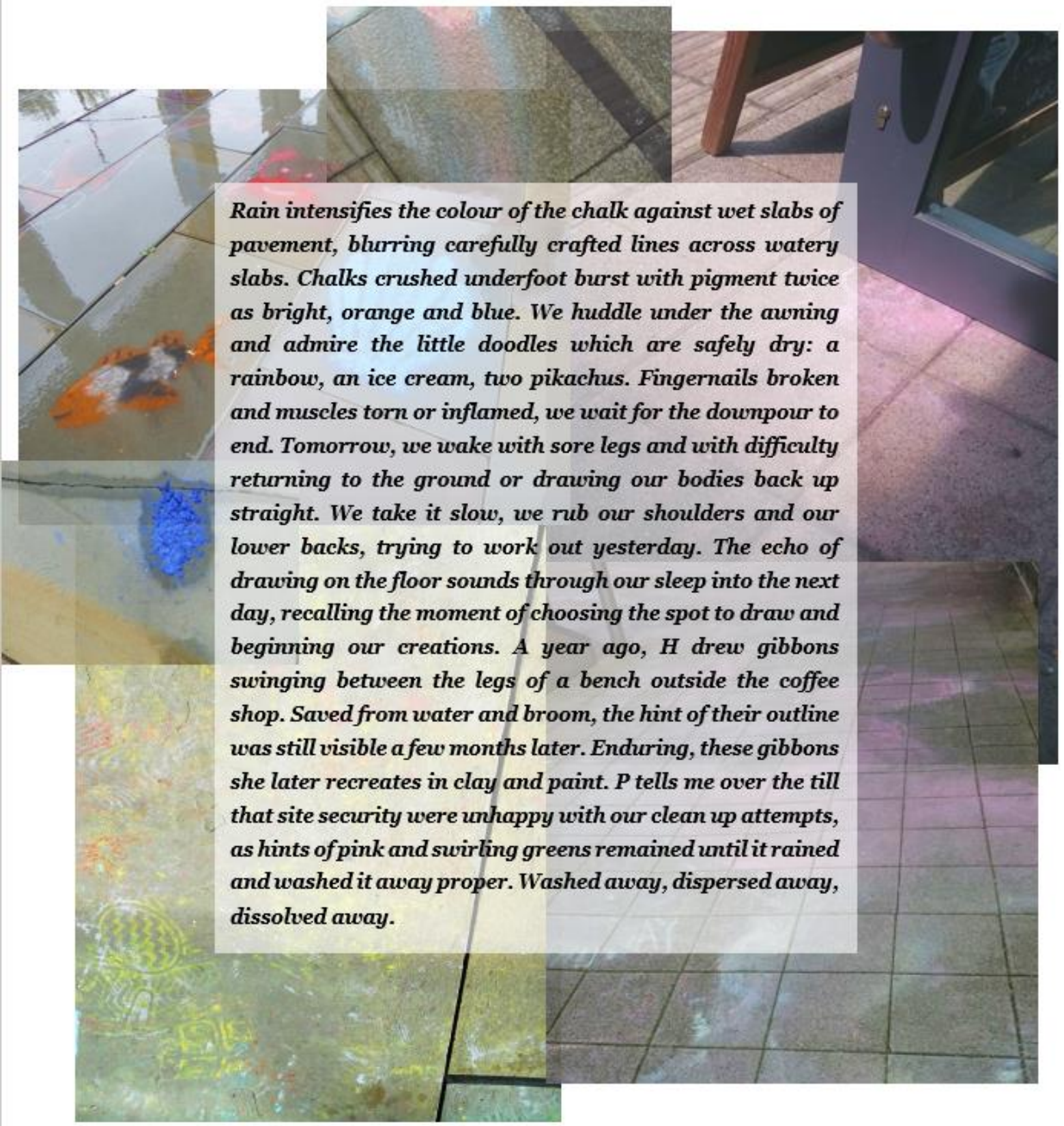
(Deleuze and Guattari, 1991: 166)

The interlocking and overlapping impersonal and collective durations that intersect during a temporary urbanism event require a different kind of approach that questions the notion of 'temporary' urbanism. The event endures beyond its temporary limits. Here, a Bergsonian-Deleuzean understanding of durations emphasises the processual and changeable nature of urban space. As Williams argues, their 'philosophy of time is therefore one of difference as becoming… The new theories of time constructed by Deleuze allow difference to be defined as a complex process, the detail of which can be explained through the claim that 'time itself is a process' (2011: 3). As such, time 'is always flowing, overtaking what might be called the 'not yet' and passing away in the 'already'' (Stagoll in Parr, 2005: 79).

The first two sections here are structured around the nature of the event as explored by Deleuze (1990). There are two sides to the event, which are the corporeal mixtures such as the actual state of affairs, and the incorporeal effects, which are the virtual elements that linger and reorganise what can happen in the future. These two sides of the event in the present overlap and intersect, but both are very real aspects because as part of the actual state of affairs 'there is also the movement wherein the event implies something excessive in relation to its actualization' (Deleuze, 1990: 168). How actual traces extend the temporary urbanism event in both time and space is the first element of this retheorization, emphasising the traces left on bodies and capacities through sensory and affective interactions. In the following section, I explore the excessive and incorporeal effects of the event in the realm of the virtual. This reconfigures the ethical and political implications of a temporary urbanism event beyond the actual material traces left behind. In the final section, this actual and virtual retheorization of temporality reframes gentrification not just as a structural, market-led, violent force but as an everyday encounter, negotiated through mundane sensory and affective relations that characterize temporary urbanism's micropolitics. I call these gentrifying intensities. These elements speak to how the evaluation of temporary urbanism events can be shifted by changing the terms of how they emerge, endure, and leave traces on the spaces they exist in, the wider city, and the bodies involved. This has impact for geographical research as well as contributing to wider understandings of temporary urbanism events and the durations they inhabit.

## Actual Traces on Bodies

Temporary urbanism's impact on the urban environment does not stop following the apparent end of the event. Many actual traces are left behind that change bodies in the longer-term following this encounter; the actual being 'a realm of things that exist independently of our ways of thinking about them and perceiving them' (Williams in Parr, 2005: 222). As discussed in earlier chapters, Yaneva's (2003) concept of 'becoming-art' extends the creative event beyond its temporal and spatial setting. These material traces extend its affective life. Muscles ache, chalk pigment remains, rain dilutes colour, and imaginative ideas linger. Chalk lends itself to demonstrating these traces because, as a material, its inherent properties of dustiness and permeability visualize this extension. It is important to pay attention to actual traces because it offers another way of thinking about the durations of these events and their legacies.



*Rain intensifies the colour of the chalk against wet slabs of pavement, blurring carefully crafted lines across watery slabs. Chalks crushed underfoot burst with pigment twice as bright, orange and blue. We huddle under the awning and admire the little doodles which are safely dry: a rainbow, an ice cream, two pikachus. Fingernails broken and muscles torn or inflamed, we wait for the downpour to end. Tomorrow, we wake with sore legs and with difficulty returning to the ground or drawing our bodies back up straight. We take it slow, we rub our shoulders and our lower backs, trying to work out yesterday. The echo of drawing on the floor sounds through our sleep into the next day, recalling the moment of choosing the spot to draw and beginning our creations. A year ago, H drew gibbons swinging between the legs of a bench outside the coffee shop. Saved from water and broom, the hint of their outline was still visible a few months later. Enduring, these gibbons she later recreates in clay and paint. P tells me over the till that site security were unhappy with our clean up attempts, as hints of pink and swirling greens remained until it rained and washed it away proper. Washed away, dispersed away, dissolved away.*

**Corporeal and material traces**

Key to the understanding of a city as always in flux, as constituted by bodies always in the process of becoming, is that each event leaves traces on what makes that place. Anderson argues that 'all the actions we participate in inevitably take and make place (we, whether we like it or not, inevitably leave traces)' (2009: 8). How we think about the traces left behind by temporary urbanism matters. It goes beyond the litter left by a festival or market, the unique bag bought at the collaboration pop-up worn for months afterwards, or even the texts left as evidence of a conversation with a lamppost or tree following Playable City's *Hello LampPost* project (Playable City, 2013). Here, I investigate the micro traces left on bodies that participate in the 'becoming-art' (Yaneva, 2003) of the event. This emphasises that temporary urbanism events do not end abruptly but leave many different kinds of corporeal and material traces.

The day after the chalk art event, the volunteers and I woke *'with sore legs',* an *'enduring'* trace of the repetitive up and down motions of drawing on the floor. Skin on our fingertips was delicate and our fingernails were broken from rough haptic interactions with the pavement surface, healing over the days and weeks afterwards. The event does not just leave traces on a passive body, but the body participates in the making of this healing time, rather than being subject to it (Bergson, 1992). As Connor argues, 'if time writes the skin, then the skin can also be thought of as writing time. Assailed by marks, the skin possesses the capacity to regenerate itself, to grow out of, as well into disfigurement. The skin marks time partly by effacement: by the healing of lesions, and the reassertion of the surface against every assault' (2004: 90). This kind of corporeal trace is the first step in discussing the micro-traces of temporary urbanism: pain and discomfort that linger, the event extending through muscles and skin even after the chalk had been washed away by rain. Therefore, these elements such as aches and scrapes constitute the event's perseverance even after the chalk had washed away from the pavement.

Outside of human bodies and aching muscles, other actual traces of the event exist. Rain plays its role in the becoming-art of chalk art events: it disperses, it makes pigment brighter, it enacts its own kind of creative agency. Yaneva concludes her argument around becoming-art by arguing that 'instead of being driven by an artistic vision, the installation process is led by the chalk dispersion' (2003: 183). The concept of the art being *'washed away'* or *'dispersed away'* jumps out as an important element of the event's ending. If we recognize Yaneva's conclusion, then the art continues to emerge and transform over time, long after chalks have been packed up. 'Away' evokes a disappearance from our awareness to somewhere beyond it, a movement to elsewhere. We throw things 'away', but these things do not cease to exist. Away means beyond our perception, and is an apt choice for retheorizing the durations of chalk art and the event's traces. This links to the virtual traces of the event, which I discuss

in greater detail in the next section, by emphasising the tendencies that can resurface through different encounters or relations in the future.

The expansion and diminishment of capacities also speaks to the event's endurance from the past through present and future. For our chalk art events, this might be the ease of movement found or the traces of imagination cultivated. Although Massumi states that imagination is 'the mode of thought most precisely suited to the vagueness of the virtual', I argue here that imagination is also a capacity, an actual trace that lingers in the bodies of temporary urbanism participants (2002: 134). One volunteer drew gibbons outside the coffee shop, under an awning that protected them from rain, and which we did not scrub very hard to get rid of as site security wanted us to. When we returned later that summer, the hint of a gibbon could still be seen, *'gibbons she later recreates in clay and paint'*. The shape of the gibbons, their bright colours, the lines discovered to evoke their arms hanging from branches, left a trace on this volunteer's imagination. It increased her capacity to produce this same form in various mediums. All capacities are corporeal traces that remain after an event: the event continues to exist through the bolstering of capacities and the diminishment of others. As such, the capacity of imagination in particular 'does not organise our experience but goes beyond it, challenges its present limits' (Hjorth, 2009: 1). Key to the micro-traces of capacities, then, are the affective relations through which the capacity to affect and be affected is increased or decreased, such as this volunteer's propensity to recreate the chalk gibbons again and again in various other materials.

**Affective traces and rethinking temporary urbanism**

Affective relations are key to many of the actual traces left behind by temporary urbanism events, even though affect cannot be entirely pinned down. Nevertheless, in the urban environment it is 'the multiplicitous affects and relations through which the materialities of this reality are emergent' (McCormack and Latham, 2004: 709-10). These emerging realities are an actualization of one present, and this point emphasises the impact of affective relations on the constitution of a temporary urbanism event. This relates back to my earlier arguments about the impact on tendencies, habits, and subjectivities following experimentation with the material conditions of public space. The process of subjectivation is forged through affective relations and the traces left on bodies from all kinds of urban encounters. Retheorizing durations in this way emphasises that affective relations impact bodies through and across various temporalities. Spinoza's work on affect (1996) over time emphasises that a body in the future and a body in the past has the same kind of affective power as the present. In *Ethics,* he emphasises that the affect 'is the same, whether the image is of a thing past or future, or of a present thing' (1996: 80). These affective relations can be reignited, across the past, present, and future, and as such, a temporary urbanism event that has seemingly ended can continue

to affect bodies. Returning to the site of the chalk art-ing events now, I am struck by the past resonances of the event and enter into an affective assemblage for an event that ended years ago and has no visible traces left. The temporary urbanism event can continue to impact relations with the specific site long after it seems to have ended.

Building on this idea, I turn to Deleuze's (1990) concept of the event to explore the affective traces and how these extend temporary urbanism's impact beyond its apparent end. Deleuze's event is the force of becoming that characterizes the world, 'not the state of affairs… [the event] is actualized in a state of affairs, in a body, in a lived, but it has a shadowy and secret part that is continually subtracted from or added to its actualization' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1994: 156). The dualistic aspect Deleuze uses in his theory of the event refers to the corporeal mixtures, such as actual interactions and states of bodies, and incorporeal effects, such as the virtual transformations that occur and linger. This latter element means that something about the event, as this incorporeal and virtual force, always remains beyond what is actualized and leaves corporeal and material traces.

Bodies are continually becoming, and cities are continually being constituted through what holds together and what falls apart. Williams, a writer on Deleuze and time, argues that 'everything changes with every new event' (2011: 15). Bodies and material conditions are reassembled by the state of affairs that is temporary urbanism, as they are reassembled by any event. The defamiliarizing and experimental nature of temporary urbanism events exacerbates this. Deleuze's concept of the event emphasises interplay between the actual and the virtual by asserting what remains beyond the event as 'immaterial, incorporeal, unlivable: pure *reserve*' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1994: 156). I do not intend this framing to situate the virtual and the actual in opposition to one another, because they interplay at various levels through the process of actualization. As Roffe clarifies, 'while the virtual is embodied in the actual situations, the changes in actual situations also effect changes in the virtual multiplicity. Existence, then, is a combination of actual multiplicities – states of affairs – and virtual multiplicities – particular intensive moments of change' (in Parr, 2005: 177). This is important because it does not render the realm of the actual as inconsequential; the actual redistributes the virtual and directs it, and therefore the actualization of various events is key to shifting the incorporeal effects that can result from an event.

Next, I continue to evaluate how a temporary urbanism event can extend beyond its apparent end, moving away from considering actual traces to the virtual aspects of the event's afterlife.

## Virtual Echoes of the Event

The afterlife of the event exists in the virtual, even when actual traces are no longer perceptible. It is very much real without being actual, and is 'always already passed and eternally yet to come… [it has] freed itself of present corporeal content and has thereby unwound its own circle, stretching itself out in a straight line' (Deleuze, 1990: 165). For Deleuze, the actualisation of the virtual is always the production of novelty rather than the emergence of an already-existing (or possible) model or image. The virtual is 'the mode of reality implicated in the emergence of new potentials' (Massumi, 1998: 96), so it is entangled with experimentation and possibility. In the next vignette, I gesture towards the virtual by discussing the echoes and lingering presence of chalk art in my own life and that of the participants, long after the fieldwork had ended. It could be argued that this is much more in the realm of the actual, of material traces, but the virtual is an 'ever-changing whirl' rather than the imagined possibilities that can be grasped and written (Grosz, 2013: 230). I use this vignette to spark analysis about the virtual realm and experimentation before evaluating the political potential of being attentive to the virtual echoes of temporary urbanism.

*Chalks are packed away. Notes are typed up. Recordings listened to. Images transferred. The event stretches through my calendar even beyond these endings. I begin to notice the chalk art surrounding me in my everyday life. Walks to and from the university through the park are full of children's summer chalk doodles baked by sun onto the ground. Obstacle courses are created down one lane on the way home, hopscotch and balancing acts smudged over the few days before the rain. Nextdoor draw in their front garden and chalk footsteps are walked past my front gate. All of these become vivid to me: the imprint of chalk art left on my attention. Some days I am enchanted; I stop and admire the colours, the freedom of the lines, the genius of the chalky obstacle course with clear START and FINISH slabs. Someone draws on a tree and I imagine the feeling of dragging chalk across bark, extending that knowledge I feel shake through the bones of my hand. Some days I am frustrated, unable to escape this colourful dust I have spent my time thinking about and focusing on inside my house, only to be confronted by it again as I walk the dog on a break from the work. I keep a bucket full of chalk ends on the shelf near my desk; it reminds me of dry hands and sore knees. I meet friends of volunteers and they know me for these chalk drawing days, even as so many days have passed since those endings. Volunteers become friends, as friends became hourly participants who wanted to join in and catch up. Links about chalk art around the world are sent to me, digitally, long after the gallery event has faded in the archive of 'Past Events'.*

**The virtual and experimentation**

The virtual is a realm tangled up with experimentation and change. It is not just the possible, the imaginable, or potential, but 'the force of differentiation that transforms itself in the process of creating objects (including living beings) that are themselves ever differentiated and differentiating' (Grosz, 2013: 230). The virtual is different from these other terms because it does not rely on similitude or resemblance; the virtual cannot be imagined or conjured to mind. The virtual is therefore the force of becoming that characterizes Bergson's durée and Deleuze's ontology. This relates to an understanding of existence as a plane of immanence: 'the actualization of the virtual might be figured less as a movement 'up', than as a movement outwards on the same plane' (O'Sullivan, 2012: 102). This is an expansion rather than a bubbling up.

With every actualization there is a virtual reserve that remains, but this is in flux and varies according to what is actualized in perceptible reality. Without the experimentation and engagement with the chalk art research, my encounters with chalk art in the following months would not have been '*enchanted'* or *'frustrated',* nor would there have been as much openness and familiarity upon encountering friends of volunteers later on, who '*know me for these chalk drawing days'*. These are not just remainders or memories of the event that impact cognitive processes or emotions, but continued affective actualizations of the virtual echoes of the chalk art event that became clear through the strengthening of tendencies and habits. As O'Sullivan argues, 'in the actual living of a life some aspects of this virtuality *become* more clear and distinct, others retreat into obscurity' (2012: 139). Here is when the political impact of considering the virtual becomes clear. Influencing elements of virtuality to become clearer or more obscure is possible through the actualization of different states of affairs. For example, as the existence of pseudo-public spaces grows, their rules and norms might come to be accepted as part of the city's atmosphere through shifts in habits and affective relations (as well as larger structural processes surrounding their documenting and publishing of rules for each site). This is negotiated through the virtual and counter-actualization.

Temporary urbanism, then, impacts the virtuality of what might happen in urban spaces by making the emergence of certain actualizations more likely. Yet, importantly in this understanding of a politics of the virtual is that any attempt to influence or control particular spaces, bodies, or relations cannot be total, because the excessive possibilities of the virtual can always ensure a degree of creative freedom in what can be actualized. So, while this idea of a politics of the virtual can be used as a mode of critique when researching temporary urbanism, the excessive nature of the virtual means that there is always that degree of creative freedom. Thus, this degree of creative freedom is key to my contribution of this notion of a politics of the virtual. I do not want to foreclose or limit ideas of what temporary urbanism

might become in the future by only focusing on how it is limiting or controlling, but to affirmatively critique the micropolitics of temporary urbanism events and acknowledge those small glimmers of creative freedom as well.

When thinking about the way that form is coaxed out of the virtual realm, Massumi asks of architecture: 'where is the virtuality in the final product? Precisely what trace of it is left in the concrete form it deposits as its residue? What of emergence is left in the emerged?' (1998: 24). Where is the virtuality of the chalk art event? Is it really in the frustrated or enchanted mode through which I later encountered chalk art drawings in my neighbourhood? Arguably, these are more actual than virtual, but assessing them in research is complex because the virtual extends beyond the possible or imaginable. It can only be gauged by what emerges and what remains, shifting the understanding of the relation between past and future. In order to change the virtual in the future, various solutions and actualizations must be attempted in the present. This emphasises why research must persevere in its experimentation and use of creative methods, because we do not know in advance what these actualizations will lead to in the virtual or how it will open up new potentials. Here, case studies of particular sites that have contained various forms of temporary urbanism would be a way to engage more thoroughly with this politics of the virtual if there was a future study using my relational approach to temporary urbanism. This might help speak to similar questions to the ones I posed regarding the virtuality of my own chalk art events and its continued resonances: 'what of the emergence is left in the emerged?' (Massumi, 1998: 24). My own ethnographic vignette gestures towards these resonances, and even though the intended outcome of that writing was not capture or perfect representation, it still falls short in its ability to assess the more-than-human and intensive forces entangled in the virtual realm. As many writers in geography have noted (Daniels and Lorimer, 2012; DeLyser, 2010; Dewsbury, 2009; Wylie, 2005), the complexity of writing the ungraspable in research encounters may feel like writing is always 'failing', but I believe it is a worthwhile effort to experiment. Trying to write in this style was an important method to engage with because it has allowed me to articulate important conceptual elements, such as the virtual. Narrating the chalk art event's incorporeal intensities as I have experienced them was a way of grappling with the relation between the virtual and the actual, and exploring how an event extends beyond its apparent end.

**The political power of temporary urbanism's virtuality**

Why does the virtual matter to the politics of temporary urbanism? 'The virtual is both emitted into and absorbed by the actuals it generates' (Grosz, 2013: 230), so the emergence of a temporary urbanism event changes every body involved in the encounter, not always for the better. As discussed in Chapter 4, this encounter can diminish capacities and reduce a body's power of acting. Tendencies and habits of apprehension and anxiety can be bolstered by the

temporary urbanism event, the actualizations of these actions being fed back into the virtual and exacerbating this into something more clear and distinct, held in reserve for another similar encounter. Even if the actual trace that remains following this kind of event seems inconsequential or small, it is important. As Deleuze and Guattari argue, even when very little appears to occur 'everything changes, because becoming continues to pass through its components again and to restore the event that is actualized elsewhere, at a different moment' (1994: 158). The virtuality of the event holds power to be actualized in another place or another time, extending the duration of the 'temporary' urbanism event. Beyond the level of individual bodies and their relations between one another, the virtuality of the city is also shifted by the frequent emergence of the temporary urbanism event. The idea of what a city might become or how people might live their lives there is changed by the actualizations of temporary urbanism events.

The virtuality of temporary urbanism has political power because it alters future emergences. Taking the politics of the virtual seriously offers another way about thinking about the 'trend' of temporary urbanism in the contemporary capitalist city. The growing trend of different forms of temporary urbanism, which Bishop and Williams (2012) characterize as the 'temporary city', has a particular kind of micropolitics that is made clear by thinking about the virtuality of each event. Using O'Sullivan's (2012) arguments around virtuality, through the emergence of more pop-up stores, temporary participatory events such as the chalk art events, and creative city narratives, some aspects of a city's virtuality 'become more clear and distinct, others retreat into obscurity' (2012: 139). Therefore, through the re-actualization and counter-actualization of temporary urbanism events, they do not end when they appear to. Instead, they 'transform perceptions of the sites they pop-up in', altering not only material conditions and bodies but also the affective relations and the overall assemblage that is the city (Harris, 2015: 599). This is why it is so important to pay attention, as this thesis does, to the micropolitics of how the temporary urbanism event functions. It changes the city at a molecular level, and if important elements of the design and enactment of temporary urbanism are ignored in favour of a capitalist logic, then the potential offered by this mode of urban practice to open up new modes of subjectivation or relating to the city become more obscure whilst capitalist recapture becomes more clear. Thus, the virtuality of the temporary urbanism event emphasises the ethical and political implications of choices made around these kinds of events, extending the durations and affective power of temporary urbanism through past, present, and future.

In the next section, I expand upon this point to examine the relationship between temporary urbanism and gentrification, observing how it functions at the micro level. This is

less focused on my own ethnographic work on the chalk art events and more on a wider exploration of temporary urbanism events and their role in gentrification.

## The Gentrifying Intensities of Temporary Urbanism

> 'Conviviality can take place with few props: the corner out of the wind where friends drink coffee together, the vacant lot which will become a garden. But it must have some sort of material base – the right shaped corner, the piece of vacant land and a couple of rakes – and it must have the rules that permit it. Conviviality cannot be coerced, but it can be encouraged by the right rules, the right props, and the right places and spaces.'
>
> (Peattie, 1998: 248)

Gentrification is often discussed as a long-term structural force (Lees et al, 2008; Newman and Wyly, 2006; Rose, 1984; Smith, 1996), and temporary urbanism is often seen as contributing to this process, or is a symptom of a change already happening. Key to my approach is my focus on theorizing the forces of gentrification in the momentary encounter rather than thinking about it as only a long-term structural or economic force. This thesis therefore offers an alternative duration through which to think about gentrification. In particular, I emphasise the intensities of sensory and affective relations between bodies within these encounters, which also encompasses the habits and tendencies that can encourage these intensities to take hold. Peattie's discussion of conviviality offers a good jumping off point because it emphasises the political power of objects involved in temporary urbanism. But, contrary to the point being made by Peattie, there are gentrifying intensities involved in the temporary urbanism assemblage that can constitute exclusion, even when a temporary urbanism event appears to be open to all. As Kern explains, 'not all residents are equally able or welcome to participate in new consumption and ecological activities… these activities may serve to reinforce hierarchies - both symbolic and material - between residents' (2015: 74). Offering the right tools for conviviality and joy in a temporary urbanism event, and having it be theoretically open to all, is not always enough: the atmosphere of sensation, affect, and other intensities is also key in what effects are negotiated between bodies. So, in this same way, gentrification 'can be encouraged by the right rules, the right props, and the right places and spaces' (Peattie, 1998: 248).

Thus, the 'process of partition happens at the micro level' (Linz, 2017: 135). Gentrification is not just a structural change that can be seen occurring over longer durations of 'change', but also exists in the momentary encounter and stretches into the virtual as its incorporeal effects result from what happens in the actual. Thus, through the habits

constituted by all kinds of bodies that participate in instances of temporary urbanism, the tendencies of gentrification can build. These might contribute to larger structural processes that can be identified as molar gentrification. This is where an attentiveness to micropolitics is important for the critique of temporary urbanism: by emphasising the habituated, aggravating, and alienating effects of a singular encounter with temporary urbanism and acknowledging how this can build over time. The micropolitical potential exists in the virtual, but the gentrifying power of temporary urbanism can also build in the virtual too. This recognizes the various durations that the event takes place through, such as how the virtual effects of my chalk art events may have impacted various bodies long after they ended by mobilizing intensities that can be recognized as gentrifying. It may have compounded the two sites as spaces where some bodies do not feel welcome and unconsciously influenced people to walk a different route around the Rillaton Walk walkway or to avoid visiting the MK Gallery area.

The micro of gentrification is configured through the relations between bodies. Linz' work on gentrification (2017), centred on a Cincinnati pizza restaurant, emphasises how the affective power of objects, sensations, and movements can communicate 'not for me'. Linz emphasises what she refers to as the 'visual assemblage' that produces 'fleeting atmospheres of exclusion' (2017: 132). She tracks how these traces can build in particular bodies, rather than simply follow larger structural change such as the buying of a building or a re-zone. This reframes the space-time of gentrification in terms of the affective power of human and non-human elements configuring into constellations that shape exclusion, and leads on from my earlier argument that the virtuality of a temporary urbanism event has political power. Here, gentrification is reconsidered at the momentary level of the singular encounter, not as a sweeping structural force, part of an inevitable change in the contemporary city, or as the result of particular economic and development decisions. It is always something negotiated between bodies within the assemblage that can bubble in the singular momentary encounter when a gap is produced between expectation and reality. Thus, Linz' offers a great deal when thinking about temporary urbanism because defamiliarization is so important to the way that those events function; they intentionally 'unsettle a person's surefootedness' (Linz, 2017: 137). This can result in the joyful affects that lead to capacity expansion, creative experimentation, the bolstering of a tendency that acts as a deterritorializing moment outside of capitalism, but it can also mean the displacement, exclusion, and violence of momentary gentrification.

This momentary gentrification is negotiated *between* bodies. Kern contends that gentrification 'might be visible on the surface of the body or in its physical form… [it] might also be internal transformations: hormonal, electrochemical, molecular, neurological' (2015:

68). This emphasises that it is not just through visible perception of particular objects or actions, but that it is always in relation with other bodies present, including the myriad of processes and smaller bodies that constitute the human. Linz' work on the 'visible assemblages' (2017: 132) emphasises the role of more-than-human bodies in producing a gentrifying encounter through visual elements in the restaurant such as beer taps, unfamiliar pizza toppings written on the menu, and unrecognizable faces. I want to extend this across other sensations beyond vision: the other senses, affective forces, and internal changes in bodies that Kern (2015) draws attention to. This recognizes the many precognitive modes through which relations are negotiated. This is important for my relational approach to retheorizing temporary urbanism because a commonly heard critique of temporary urbanism events has been that they contribute to gentrification. I expand upon this and offer another way to conceptualize this process whilst remaining rooted in affective relations between bodies. By exploring the gentrifying intensities of temporary urbanism here, I open up a wider conversation in geographical discourse surrounding this critique by not just relying on the critical urban theory informed framework of *Temporary Urbanism 1*.

Moving beyond the focus on the visual is important in recognizing the role that other sensations play in the gentrification process. Perception is, as Bull and Howes argue, 'cultural and political' (2016: 1). A well-known smellscape can provide familiarity (Henshaw, 2014), so the removal or sudden change in this can create a disconcerting sensory and affective atmosphere. In terms of the auditory elements, the sounds of voices heard in different city spaces matter too: not just in what is being said, but also through the accents or languages used that can make one feel a sense of belonging, or out of place in what feels like all of a sudden. As Mazer and Rankin argue, this auditory element can have a 'shaming effect that cuts off access to some public places' (2011: 829). A sense of belonging is important here because it relates to what Linz noted about 'surefootedness' being integral to the momentary encounter in a familiar neighbourhood. This emphasises the role of sensation and affect in the micropolitics of the gentrification process. And what unites both sensation and affect is the concept of intensity that Deleuze makes use of: 'intensities catalyse the actualisation of the virtual, generating extension, linear, successive time, extended bodies and their qualities' (Boundas in Parr, 2005: 32). Gentrifying intensities shift what is actualized towards something unwelcoming and displacing for particular kinds of bodies, even if certain 'actuals' of the temporary urbanism event are intended to be welcoming and open, such as Peattie's (1998) rules and props of the communal garden. As Boundas argues of Deleuze's concept of intensity, 'intensity is what makes the passage from the virtual to the actual possible' (in Parr, 2005: 130). Thus, if these intensities have a gentrifying quality, then what is actualized from a virtuality already leaning towards profit and capitalist logics results in a state of affairs that contribute to further gentrification.

What I outline here is a new angle through which to approach the evaluation of the relationship between temporary urbanism and gentrification. This angle emphasises the micropolitics and relations between bodies in characterizing gentrification in the momentary encounter. This does not undermine the critiques of temporary urbanism that are more centred in *Temporary Urbanism 1* that associate it with gentrifying forces, but adds another way of discussing how gentrification is constituted during the singular encounter. My contribution emphasises that concepts such as affect, sensation, and intensity can be used to discuss how an encounter with a temporary urbanism event can compound elements of gentrifying intensities, and how this often occurs through the very small, often imperceptible forces that characterize the relations between various bodies involved. Linz, who I have borrowed from here to build my argument around gentrifying intensities, argues that it is 'impractical and unethical' to overlook nonhuman agency in exclusion (2017: 134). Being attentive to the gentrifying intensities of temporary urbanism offers another way of theorizing this process by drawing attention to the various kinds of bodies that constitute the temporary urbanism event, which may have been overlooked if using a conceptual framework that envisions non-human bodies as passive.

This raises an interesting point about how resistance to gentrification might be conceived if we think differently about the intensities and durations of gentrification. Practically, returning to Peattie's notion of the 'right rules, the right props, and the right places and spaces' being able to encourage or guide particular reactions offers a starting point for this too, but it is not just about the material conditions that this results in (1998: 248). The atmosphere, in terms of the affective power and the intensities, that results from these objects being in proximity to one another, to a site, to human bodies is vital for guiding a temporary urbanism event away from exclusion or violence. Starting with a consideration of the relations between bodies, rather than just how various kinds of bodies exist by themselves, is key. For temporary urbanism events specifically, this might begin with attention being paid to the small details that Linz outlines that could build into a larger 'tuning in' to the intensities and sensations of the chosen site, and carefully examining who is creating the event and their knowledge of the site's past and present uses.

This chapter has explored how the durations of a temporary urbanism event can be reconsidered using the concepts of the virtual and the actual, which constitute Deleuze's (1990) understanding of the event. This impacts how temporary urbanism events are evaluated in terms of their emergence, endurance, and what they leave behind. What perseveres beyond their apparent end includes the actual traces on bodies, such as aching muscles the next day, chalk dust left behind for weeks, or the capacities that have been expanded or diminished in the process. As well as this, incorporeal effects of the virtual aspect

of the event impact what will happen in the future. These echo long after the event has ended, and here I gestured towards this by using my ethnographic vignette to explore resonances of the chalk art events within my own life. Finally, in response to the association between temporary urbanism and gentrification, this chapter has offered the concept of gentrifying intensities. This shifts the discussion of the relationship between temporary urbanism and gentrification to focus more on the momentary encounter. Building on Linz' work on the visible assemblage (2017), I have argued for the importance of intensities such as affect and sensation in characterizing gentrification. What I have offered in this chapter is a way to conceptually frame temporary urbanism events' afterlife and explore how that impacts the bodies involved, the site, and the wider city.

## Conclusion – Implications of Retheorizing Temporary Urbanism

Within this project I have proposed a retheorization of temporary urbanism that is attentive to the micropolitics of the encounter. This fills a gap in the existing literature by engaging with affirmative critique (McCormack, 2012). I evaluated how this urban phenomenon's functioning could be thought through with concepts such as affect and intensity in order to speak to the minutiae of these events that can often be overlooked, and therefore might miss important elements that could open up new roads for enquiry as temporary urbanism continues to grow in prominence. Everything I have written here underlines the importance of the relations between bodies and the capacity of all bodies to affect and be affected, through various forms of intensities. My analysis chapters reveal a number of factors that demonstrate how a relational approach, thought through the ontological terrains of bodies, habits, and durations, can shift the theorization of temporary urbanism events.

Firstly, in Chapter 4 I have drawn attention to a reconfiguring of the bodies of temporary urbanism by engaging with the thought of Spinoza via Deleuze. Through my chalk art events I discovered the up-close haptic interactions between the skin of participant and the surface of the rough ground, which I used as a starting point to open up discussions that all sensory interactions are translated through the skin (Connor, 2004; Serres, 2008). The importance of considering the senses beyond the visual, and emphasising the skin as key to this relation, is vital for future temporary urbanism events to engage thoroughly with the relationship between all different kinds of bodies in the site, both human and non-human. Beyond this, I also emphasised that the concept of capacities could open up the consideration of practitioners to the site not just as passive matter but as integral to the encouragement or diminishment of particular bodily capacities in human participants, such as the role of the pillars in my second chalk art event. Using the concept of capacities to reconfigure the evaluation of temporary urbanism events is also important as it speaks to small, incremental changes (both positive and negative in terms of their impact on a body's power to act) rather than the dualism of success vs. failure. Underlining the importance of bodies in relation, in the third section of Chapter 4 I argued for a serious consideration of more-than-human agency through Yaneva's concept of 'becoming-art' (2003). This extends creativity beyond the human and recognizes more-than-human contributions to the creative output in my chalk art-events, such as the litter and weeds that inspired one volunteer to draw small yellow creatures or the cracks in the pavements that participated in other drawings. Aligned with Bennett's concept of enchantment (2001), recognizing the power of these small bodies extends the definition of creativity from one of individual human intention to one of relational emergence, which is important because enactments of temporary urbanism are so often entangled in the neoliberal rhetoric of the creative city that is rooted in this individualistic understanding.

Building on this, in Chapter 5 I engaged with the thought of Ravaisson and Deleuze in their exploration of the concept of habit as a dynamic force. This was important to my project because notions of spatial and embodied habits and how these can be 'disrupted' by temporary urbanism are fairly common in the geographical discourse around these kinds of events. I offered another way to think about these events using the conceptual grounding of habit being considered as a dynamic force, rather than stultifying one. Firstly, I explored how disruption could be reconfigured as transformation, by focusing in on the comments made by volunteers about returning to a 'child's mindset' as a result of drawing with chalk on the ground. By linking this to Stern's (1985) work on the domains of the self, I demonstrated that the relations between bodies involved in the chalk art-ing could activate virtual traces of habits that constituted the 'emergent self', a form of subjectivity that forms in the first few months of life. This emphasises how the experimental, playful, and creative elements of this kind of temporary urbanism event can transform the tendencies and habits of those involved. This impacts the process of becoming-subject that the experimentation and playful elements of the chalk art events open up the potential for a transformation in tendencies, habits, and therefore can affect the process of becoming-subject. This is important for temporary urbanism practitioners to consider because it emphasises what kind of affective atmosphere they are cultivating through their event and what kind of tendencies or habits they are encouraging. Secondly, I examined the notion that temporary urbanism can contribute to apprehensive and anxious habits, which are entwined with the sensory atmosphere of the contemporary city as a result of Simmel's (1903) work on the overstimulation of the senses and the blasé. I reframed this approach to anxiety in urban space by emphasising the role of capitalist subjectivation in the production of anxious habits as a pre-cognitive, affective atmosphere. Apprehension in my fieldwork, such as people stating they "didn't want to ruin it" was theorized as resulting from the affective power of bodies such as the plastic wrap around a new set of chalks or the large grey pavement that stretched out in front of us before we began drawing. Key to my findings for this element of my work is a note of guidance for temporary urbanism practitioners: leave space for people not to participate and do not force anything. Finally, I spoke to the relationship between habit and subjectivity by examining the contemporary capitalist city and what kind of habits it encourages and discourages in terms of a body's power to act. I used a specific moment of my own fieldwork, that of a restaurant asking us to draw their logo, which some volunteers noted as a feeling like 'blackmail', to link to wider questions around the co-option of temporary urbanism for capitalist means. By using the understanding of habit as a dynamic force, I noted that capitalism's inherent machinic functioning means that any deterritorializing act will be recaptured in some way. As such, the narrative of temporary urbanism acts needing to 'escape' capitalism is not helpful. Instead, I emphasised that the

impacts left on tendencies, capacities, habits, and the process of urban subjectivity were key to the role of temporary urbanism's impact on the contemporary urban milieu.

Finally, in Chapter 6 I have retheorized the durations of temporary urbanism and considered the 'temporary' element of their name. Using the concepts of the virtual and the actual, stemming from Bergson and Deleuze, I explored how a temporary urbanism event exceeds its apparent end. It leaves actual traces in the corporeal state of affairs, such as the extension of the chalk art as it dispersed and then washed away by rain. Yet it also left traces on other bodies involved, as felt by my own aching muscles and sore fingertips. Building on this, I recognized the importance of the virtual realm and the incorporeal effects left by a temporary urbanism event. I wrote this using an ethnographic vignette that gestured towards the virtual echoes of the chalk art events through my life in the months and years after, and although this could be critiqued as being more in the realm of the actual, the difficulty in writing an affective account of the virtual does not mean it should not be attempted. In this section I also presented the political power of the virtual as an important element of temporary urbanism events, as the virtuality of the event holds power to be actualized in another place or time. This extends the duration of the temporary urbanism event. Finally, I explored a common critique of temporary urbanism, which is its association with gentrification. Inspired by Linz' (2017) work on visible assemblages, I extended this notion of the momentary encounter being gentrification's root to affect and sensation. I called these 'gentrifying intensities' and expanded upon ideas of the actual and virtual as they are entangled within gentrification.

I set out to offer another way to think about temporary urbanism and to fill what I perceived as a gap in the literature around these kind of events. The economic and structural critiques based in the framework of *Temporary Urbanism 1* are helpful, but I have supplemented these by emphasising that the micropolitics of the encounter can offer another way of thinking about temporary urbanism. Macropolitics and micropolitics are not separate and cannot be divided; I am enlivening the macropolitics of temporary urbanism discourse by drawing attention to the micropolitics. From the creative experimentation and capacity expansion to the anxious, unnerving, and eventually gentrifying power that can be enacted**,** the affective and sensory intensities involved in the relations between bodies is key to my conceptualization of temporary urbanism. As such, this project speaks to future concerns surrounding temporary urbanism's growth in the contemporary city and its association with neoliberal logics. I offer another kind of language to discuss these issues, and emphasise that there will always be deterritorializing routes through capitalist spaces. With my approach, which is grounded in affirmative critique (McCormack, 2012), this research can be used to inform more structural concerns, even if my own chalk art events seem trivial and small scale.

Temporary urbanism events are not going to disappear, so continued academic attention that critiques their politics is essential. This project also offers points that can be considered by practitioners to experiment with the practice of designing and enacting temporary urbanism, such as recognizing the creative agency of more-than-human bodies, considering the ways an event extends beyond its apparent end, as well as care in how to involve people in public spaces without contributing to a habitual atmosphere of anxiety.

However, as a result of the bracketing of the digital and technological questions surrounding temporary urbanism, my arguments may seem somewhat limited in a landscape full of experimentation with digital play, virtual reality experiments, and everyday social media use. Digital and technological elements that contribute to the temporary urbanism scene would shift some of the theoretical points I have explored. For example, taking and publishing a photo with location tagged might shift understandings of the place, extend the durations of the event, and involve more bodies in the temporary event. If considering this as part of temporary urbanism's milieu, the event has a digital afterlife and functions in-the-moment differently as a result.

Overall, the micropolitics of temporary urbanism allow more insight to be garnered about how these events function, which is important because it impacts the design, enactment, and evaluation of events that impact urban everyday life. My retheorization of temporary urbanism through the ontological terrains of bodies, habits, and durations has engaged with the affective and sensory intensities of temporary urbanism events. All the conclusions I have drawn from my research underline the point that the relations between bodies, whether that be an affective relation or a sensory interaction such as fingertips on pavement, are the basis for how these events impact the contemporary city. Thus, the affective and sensory relations between bodies, how they shift tendencies and habits, and how this extends long after the event appears to have ended, are vital to consider in the design, enactment, evaluation, and research of temporary urbanism. My approach deviates from larger structural narratives that frame research questions around dualisms, place limits on what counts as a collaborator in the temporary urbanism event, and do not recognize the importance of the micro forces impacting the event. However, Massumi argues that capitalism 'starts intensifying or diversifying affect, but only in order to intensify profit potential', which might act as a warning about the way that this kind of insight might be captured by capitalist logics (2015: 20). Insights into the affective and sensory power of temporary urbanism events could be recaptured by capitalism to make them more 'effective' in serving market logics. The future of temporary urbanism may seize upon the sensory elements, it may strive to be more open to all kinds of bodies, or it may be led by capitalist capture. What is essential for the future of temporary urbanism is for it to cultivate spaces of experimentation between all kinds of bodies. This is to actualize virtuals

that lend themselves to the intensity of life and open up new routes for subjectivation in urban spaces, even if only temporarily.

## Afterword

In December 2018, following a residency with Playable City, practitioner Sophie Sampson produced a primer on playful temporary urbanism event planning, 'Nine Questions About Play in Particular Places', that runs through key considerations (2018). Sampson offers terminology to explain the phases of how people commit to playful temporary urbanism: noticing, thinking about, trying out, deep play, and repeated play (2018: 4). This kind of language not only overcomes the dualism of 'engagement' vs 'no engagement', but also offers a framework for future work on assessing and evaluating temporary urbanism. Inspired by Sampson, and responding to my research question regarding the key takeaways of a relational theorization for temporary urbanism practitioners, I end this project with seven injunctions. These demonstrate how my work could be carried forward in the future by others.

Consider the site, and all the different kinds of objects, plants, animals, and bodies within it, as collaborators. How can you work with them? What skills and capacities do they bring to the event?

Make space for different kinds of involvement and allow space for people not to be involved. The shift between different kinds of involvement as people change their minds should not be difficult or cost any money.

The event should be open to all. Consider how you can/ expand your notion of 'all'. Consider people not as collections of identities, but as possessing a whole host of different capacities and aptitudes. How can you cater to these?

The site's past impacts present and future possibilities - what will your event do to its trajectory? Are you playing into expectations of the site or revolting against them? How does this impact the stakes of people's involvement?

Go beyond the visual in the planning of your event. If the other senses are involved, consider how they are being engaged.

Consider what traces you will leave on the space and the people involved in your event. What has been encouraged and what has been diminished? What will people take with them?

Open up your expectations of how this event should happen. Allow those involved, human and beyond, to explore for themselves how they relate, interact, play, or create.

What emerges?

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